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Travel and Pilgrimage in Romantic Art

by

Joan Eileen Greer

A THESIS

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Abstract

Subjects of travel and pilgrimage appear repeatedly in Romantic art, and reveal many concerns which are fundamental to the Romantic sensibility. Works dealing with these subjects are among the most innovative and radical images appearing in Romantic art. An investigation of travel and pilgrimage in art between the years 1770 and 1840 is the subject of this thesis.

Artists were often directly inspired by their own travel experiences. They were also inspired by the travel experiences of others, many of which were accessible in the form of published travel accounts. The first part of this study, therefore, considers actual travel during the Romantic period, the reasons for its vogue, and its direct influence on artists. Subjects of travel were also used by artists as a means of exploring abstract ideas. Symbolic travel imagery is the focus of the second and third parts of this study--the second part dealing with images of ships at sea, and the third with images relating to the theme of pilgrimage.

Many artists depicted ships at sea, and in particular sublime marine subjects such as shipwreck, because of the ability of these images to arouse feelings of terror and awe. However, artists were also attracted to marine subjects in order to explore philosophical ideas: the ship at sea was represented by many as a metaphor of man in his universe. In addition to the abstract content, many of these works

depicted contemporary events and therefore contain several layers of meaning.

Romantic marine paintings are often closely tied to traditional artistic images of the sea and this connection with past iconography is also important in Romantic images of pilgrimage. In themes of pilgrimage, a journey is undertaken in order to achieve spiritual enlightenment. This is the subject of the seventeenth-century book *Pilgrim's Progress*, which was extremely popular among the Romantics. Many illustrations were designed for this work during the Romantic period, but images of pilgrimage with no direct literary ties also appeared at this time.

Considered as a whole, images of travel in Romantic art are complex and sometimes ambiguous. They convey feelings of uncertainty, pessimism or even despair; but they also, at times, convey feelings of optimism and a more positive view of the world. The examination of these images, and of the artists' motivations for choosing them, reveals that travel imagery presented Romantic artists with a means of exploring and expressing their most crucial beliefs.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Images of travel and pilgrimage appear repeatedly in Romantic art. They are complex and at times ambiguous. In some cases these images convey feelings of uncertainty, pessimism or even despair. In other cases, however, a more optimistic and hopeful view of the world is presented. It is significant that no single unified idea or mood is presented.

Subjects related to journey by land or sea provided Romantic artists with a means of attempting to come to terms with the world in which they lived and with human existence itself. While these subjects often had their basis in actual reality, in many cases they transcended this mundane level, and artists often employed them metaphorically to express abstract ideas. Although the extent of interest in travel-related subjects during the Romantic period is striking, the overall significance of that interest has never been fully explored. This study, therefore, will examine themes of journey and pilgrimage within Romantic art in Europe. A relatively small but representative number of works will be considered from the period between 1770 and 1840--the time when images of travel began appearing with great frequency in the visual arts.

During the late eighteenth century the grand tour had reached its height of popularity. In addition, exploration, scientific expeditions, and oversea colonization were still

important undertakings of many European powers. Travel, therefore, was a significant cultural, economic and political feature of European society.

The general interest in travel among the Romantics in some cases became almost an obsession. The strong, passionate desires so much a part of the Romantic heroes in literature are reflected in the temperaments and in the convictions of many of the Romantics themselves. Perhaps the best-known figure whose life illustrates this wanderlust is the English poet Byron, in whose writings the mysterious, lonely hero, destined to a life of wandering, is inextricably tied to the poet's own view of himself. In an autobiographical passage in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Byron wrote:

> The race of life becomes a hopeless flight
> To those that walk in darkness: on the sea
> The boldest steer but where their ports invite,
> But there are wanderers o'er Eternity
> Whose bark drives on and on, and anchor'd ne'er
> shall be.'

A sense of pessimism is here linked to the notion of the futility of attempting to escape one's destiny.

Like Byron, Romantic artists were often directly inspired by their own travel experiences. In addition, they were affected by others' travel experiences many of which were widely accessible in the form of published travel accounts. Thus the first part of this study will consider actual travel during the Romantic period, the reasons for its vogue, and its direct influence on artists, including Antoine-Jean Gros, William Blake and J.M.W. Turner.

In contrast to artists who were most interested in representing actual experiences of travel, many artists depicted subjects of travel primarily as a means of exploring abstract ideas. Symbolic travel imagery will be the focus of the second and third parts of this study--the second part dealing with images of ships at sea, and the third with images relating to the theme of pilgrimage.

Many Romantic artists depicted ships at sea, and in particular sublime marine subjects such as shipwrecks, because of the ability of these subjects to arouse feelings of terror and awe. However, artists were also attracted to marine subjects in order to explore philosophical ideas: the ship at sea was represented by many as a metaphor of man in his universe. The philosophical content of this type of travel imagery will be discussed in the second part of this study, focusing on the marine paintings of the three major artists J.M.W. Turner, Théodore Géricault, and Caspar David Friedrich. In addition to the abstract content of these marine paintings, many of the works depict contemporary events and therefore contain several layers of meaning.

Romantic marine paintings are often closely tied to traditional artistic images of the sea. This connection with traditional iconography is also important in Romantic images of pilgrimage. In these works a journey is undertaken in order to achieve spiritual enlightenment. This is the subject of the seventeenth-century book *Pilgrim's Progress*, which was extremely popular among the Romantics. Both John

Flaxman and William Blake designed illustrations for Bunyan's work. These artists also wrote and illustrated their own poems of pilgrimage. The other notable Romantic artist who turned to the theme of pilgrimage in his work was Caspar David Friedrich. His pilgrimage imagery, unlike that of Flaxman and Blake, had no direct literary ties.

In Romantic images of pilgrimage artists expressed their own personal beliefs. They sometimes included traditional symbols of pilgrimage; however, at times they departed from these symbols. Friedrich, in particular, created a new iconography which reflected his belief in the spirituality embodied in landscape.

While Romantic images of travel fit into an iconographical continuum, they were also among the most innovative and radical images appearing in Romantic art. An examination of these images and of the motivations for choosing them reveals that travel imagery presented artists with a means of exploring and expressing their most crucial beliefs.

Chapter II

Romantic Images of Travel: from the Literal to the Sublime

The Romantic preoccupation with travel was the culmination of an interest which had developed steadily throughout the eighteenth century. Parallel to this interest, and indeed contributing to it, was the fact that as the century progressed journeys abroad became increasingly possible for growing numbers of people. These journeys, which gave rise to a large body of illustrated and non-illustrated travel literature,[1] were undertaken with various motivations. Many people travelled for pleasure and personal development. This group of travellers included individuals who took part in the grand tour as well as artists who considered travel an important part of their artistic training. Exploration and trade also provided major incentives for travel.

Some of the general attitudes and beliefs of the Romantic period also led to the fascination with foreign lands. A widespread dissatisfaction with contemporary European society, for example, as well as a general longing for excitement and adventure, aroused a strong interest in foreign countries, and particularly in those countries which hitherto had been relatively unfrequented by European travellers. These countries were attractive because they were considered mysterious and exotic. Many Romantics also felt they represented uncorrupted societies superior to those in Europe.

Not surprisingly, the vogue for travel and the interest in foreign cultures affected Romantic artists, leading many to choose images related to travel for their art. Imagery based on travel experiences played an important part in the paintings of numerous artists. This discussion will focus on the works of three artists--Antoine-Jean Gros, William Blake, and Joseph Mallord Turner. Romantic artists were often influenced by travel experiences of others, as well as by their own journeys abroad. Before turning to the visual images, however, it is helpful to consider the overall phenomenon of travel during the Romantic period, an important part of which was the grand tour.

The grand tour had originated in the sixteenth century,[2] but continued to be popular during the Romantic period. Although usually considered as primarily a British phenomenon, the tour was also popular on the continent. By the eighteenth century it had become a common and essential part of the education of the upper classes in Western Europe. While Italy was often the ultimate destination of the grand tourist, other countries were also frequently visited, including Holland, Flanders, France, Switzerland, and Germany.

The period of the early 1760's to the early 1790's--the time early ideas of Romanticism were emerging in the visual arts--is generally considered to be the time when the grand tour had reached its height.[3] In many cases artists accompanied gentlemen on the grand tour; these painters were

employed to reproduce the most interesting or beautiful views, often incorporating them into portraiture.

Numerous artists also travelled independently to foreign countries during the Romantic period. The academic training of a painter traditionally included a sojourn in Italy as an essential part of the artist's education. During the last decades of the eighteenth century this was partly related to the fact that European academies of art, following the earlier teachings of Johann Winckelmann, emphasized the importance of copying the art of Roman and Greek antiquity.[4] In France, this tradition was reflected in the Academy's prestigious *Prix de Rome*, which allowed the artists a period of study in that city.

Artistic pilgrimages to Italy served to expose European artists not only to the remains of classical antiquity, but also to the picturesque beauty of Italian landscape and to the art of past and present Italian masters.[5] Another result of these sojourns in Italy was the cross-fertilization of the artistic ideas of the itinerant artists themselves.

An attraction to the picturesque beauty of the Italian countryside resulted in the eighteenth-century tradition of painting Italian landscapes; this tradition is exemplified by the work of artists such as the two painters Richard Wilson and John Robert Cozens, who, in their landscape paintings, both sought to capture the mood of a place which was different from their native England.[6] Wilson's Italian landscapes, in particular, include many of the scenes near

Rome and Naples which had been considered as essential sights to be seen by those on the grand tour.'

The interest in the picturesque, then, was an important reason to travel for some of the artists of the Romantic period. However, other factors also motivated landscape painters to travel, including a search for views evocative of the Golden Age or of other past civilizations, as well as an interest in the Romantic sublime.

The information brought back by travellers was plentiful. Travel had become a social requisite for members of the upper classes and increasingly for the "more ordinary people" as well.' The number of travellers, and accordingly, the number of accounts of travel, was great. Descriptions of these travel experiences took the form of oral accounts and published narratives and diaries. The published records made the travellers' experiences available to many. Personal travel accounts, however, compose only a small part of the wide range of travel literature which appeared in the late eighteenth century. They were supplemented by a large number of guide books' which, like travel diaries, were often illustrated by prints showing the peoples, towns and cities, and countryside of foreign lands; thus they contain some of the early visual and verbal Romantic travel imagery.'

While an unprecedented number of people were undertaking journeys abroad during the Romantic period for their own education or purely for pleasure, travel also took the form of commercial and exploratory sea voyages.

Published accounts of these adventurous journeys dealt with regions then seen as exotic, including North and South America, Africa, Greece, China, Persia and the North and South Poles; in many cases illustrations accompanied the texts. The elements of danger and excitement recounted in this literature had a strong appeal to the Romantics and reflected the fascination with sublime subjects; it is not suprising, therefore, that there was a marked increase in demand for and production of such narratives during this period.''

The Romantics' interest in travel and foreign lands was also stimulated by Europe's existing oversea empire. Historically, colonization provides a significant motivation for travel. By the beginning of the eighteenth century Spain, Portugal, Holland, England and France had all possessed colonies overseas. The most significant reason for travel and for exploration of unknown territories had traditionally been an economic one.'[2] The acquisition of these colonies and the European rivalries over these territories were major concerns.

At the end of the eighteenth century expansionist policies continued to exist, although by this time, rather than concentrating on acquiring more territory, energy was increasingly being directed towards the exploitation of the existing overseas empires and towards the attempt to maintain possession of these colonies.'[3] The morality of seizing property which belonged to native inhabitants and,

in particular, the morality of the exploitation of human beings in the slave trade, became the topics of heated debate. In general, the entire controversy served to heighten the general awareness of the overseas empires. Consequently, this too led to an increased demand for, and interest in, graphic and written information concerning the colonies. Here was another kind of travel literature--that is, works which were directly related to the overseas colonies and to the issues surrounding them.

Examining travel literature more closely, it becomes evident that the public's desire to read about travel and foreign lands was met by differrent kinds of publications. Travel literature, in fact, may be divided into three important categories:' true or factual accounts; literature dealing with the imaginary voyage; and the "travel lie". The difference between the last two categories is that literature dealing with the imaginary voyage was generally presented to the reader as fictitious; the "travel lie" on the other hand, athough originating in the author's imagination, was presented to the public as fact, with the deliberate intention of deceiving. What complicates matters further is the fact that the individual categories sometimes overlapped. Thus authentic travel accounts sometimes contained elements of exaggeration or, indeed, outright fabrications. Conversely, imaginary tales often contained some discussions of travel or foreign lands which had their basis in fact. The distinction between the real and the

imaginary, then, was often hazy.

Imaginary travel literature often contains ideas which reflect the author's own philosophical, political or social beliefs. This had a parallel in visual imagery. While it is common to find published descriptions of foreign lands accompanied by illustrations which depicted new or strange sights in an objective, even scientific fashion, images of travel were not always so solidly based on objective observation. A subjective approach was, of course, more representative of the Romantic sensibility, and in many cases Romantic images of travel reflect a personal and highly individualistic response to the subjects. These images were related to the most profound concerns and interests of the period.

One of these Romantic concerns was a new interest in the ideal and original state of man. The search for an ideal society was symptomatic of a growing restlessness and longing for freedom and escape which typifies much Romantic thought. These utopian ideas had arisen in Europe as early as the 1750's. The questioning and criticizing of existing institutions, perhaps best exemplified by the French *philosophes*, but also occurring in Germany and England, led many to address in their writings the concept of an ideal society.[5] This resulted in an increased interest in foreign cultures: it was felt that many primitive and exotic peoples, because they lived "in harmony with nature", were living in the ideal state. Diderot, for example, wrote of

the Tahitians as a superior people, and Voltaire spoke highly of the Chinese civilization--praising Chinese history, government, and philosophy. North Americans, too, both those of European descent and the native peoples, were considered to be living in a superior state, away from the corruption of European society. Rousseau theorized at length on the natural goodness and superiority of man in his primitive state, and many subscribed to the concept of "the Noble Savage". This preoccupation is found not only in abstract philosophical writings, but also in much of the contemporary travel literature, fiction and poetry; artists, too, were attracted to this theme.''

Napoleon Bonaparte appears to have been aware of the general desire for escape and the attraction to travel characteristic of this period, and to have made use of this knowledge in order to gain support for his foreign campaigns. In fact, he shared his contemporaries' widespread fascination with foreign lands, and in particular with the Levant.

Napoleon's ideas about the Levant were formulated when he led an attack on Egypt in 1798.'' Years later he wrote the following:

> In Egypt I found myself freed from the obstacles of an irksome civilization. I was full of dreams. I saw myself founding a religion, marching into Asia, riding an elephant, a turban on my head and in my hand a new Koran that I would have composed to suit my need. The time I spent in Egypt was the most beautiful of my life because it was the most ideal.''

Napoleon's musings are certainly misleading, but they are a

good illustration of his desire to create and perpetuate heroic and legendary notions of himself. In sailing for Egypt, Napoleon had, in fact, embarked upon a campaign which was to be a complete failure and which almost caused the end of his military career.'' The quotation is all the more remarkable in that it was written in retrospect, and Napoleon would therefore have been perfectly aware of the disastrous outcome of the campaign. In this respect a parallel may be drawn between Napoleon's writings and much of the art he commissioned. In order to create works which glorified both Napoleon and his foreign campaigns, artists relegated truth to a secondary position.

Napoleon's rise to power had a profound effect on encouraging travel and shaping the French people's ideas about foreign lands. Napoleon's aggressive military campaigns, both in Europe and overseas, and his clever use of art as propaganda to promote these campaigns, had a notable impact on travel imagery at this time. While numerous painters, including Prud'hon, David, Girodet and Ingres, received commissions from Napoleon, the painter who most successfully glorified the Napoleonic campaigns was Antoine-Jean Gros, who, in 1796, became Napoleon's official painter and was given the military title of *Inspecteur aux Revues*.[20]

Gros' painting *Bonaparte Visiting the Pest-House at Jaffa* (Plate 1), exhibited at the Salon of 1804, is an example of Napoleon's successful use of art as a political

tool. The painting, which presents an exotic scene focusing on the heroic figure of Napoleon, was designed to promote Napoleon's campaigns by stimulating the existing general curiosity in foreign lands and desire to travel. Gros, therefore, emphasized the exotic elements, such as the costumes of the Arab doctors as well as the oriental setting.[21] By taking advantage of the general interest in travel and foreign places, then, Napoleon used art to increase his own popularity and to encourage public support for his foreign policies. The propagandistic nature of Gros' painting and the extent of distortion of the factual events become clear when one examines the historical events surrounding the incident portrayed.

When an epidemic of bubonic plague broke out among his soldiers, Napoleon paid a visit to the hospital at Jaffa in an attempt to decrease the soldiers' mounting panic. All possible precautions had been taken to minimize the risks to Napoleon's health,[22] but contrary to reality, Gros' painting depicts a scene of heroism and human charity. Christ-like, Napoleon is reaching out an ungloved hand to touch the infected flesh of a victim of the plague. The implied healing power of this touch is clear. The gesture is also connected to the ritual of the "king's touch" or *touches des écrouelles*: it was traditionally believed that the king, because of his divine powers, was able to cure sickness with his touch.[23] In this way, the painting subtly but effectively links Napoleon to royalty, alludes to the notion

of his having divine powers, and at the same time capitalizes on the general fascination with exotic lands.

In paintings commissioned by Napoleon, as in *Bonaparte Visiting the Pest-House at Jaffa*, his image was usually one of a humanitarian hero. As well as allowing the public to participate in these exotic adventures these works were clearly designed to glorify Napoleon and to arouse in viewers a feeling of trust and a desire to serve him. While Gros' Napoleonic paintings are propagandistic, they also transcend this political purpose.

It should be remembered that Gros was included in Napoleon's entourage and therefore had personal knowledge of the events he depicted.[24] Personal experiences of travel, however, were not always a prerequisite for the use of travel imagery. Evidence of the fascination with travel is, for example, present in the work of Gros' contemporary, William Blake, who, although he made use of travel imagery in both his writings and his art, never left his native England. Blake's travel imagery included illustrations executed for John Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Year's Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam from the year 1772 to 1777*, first published in 1796. The book publisher, Joseph Johnson, distributed to several engravers[25] the drawings which Stedman had done while in Surinam. The ones given to Blake included most of the illustrations of slaves and slave conditions--subjects which greatly interested the artist. Blake's engravings for

Stedman's book were likely all executed during the years 1791 to 1795.[34]

Stedman's *Narrative* conforms to much of the travel literature of the time. It is a descriptive account of a travel expedition including such details as written and visual records of exotic flora and fauna, some history of Surinam, and a description of the native inhabitants; but it is also a personal account of Stedman's own adventures, including a love affair with a young black slave whom he married, and later had to leave in Surinam, not having the financial means to secure her release. In his preface Stedman describes the contents of his book:

> Here, in the different characters of a Commander--a Rebel Negro--a Planter, and a Slave--not only tyrrany are [sic] exposed--but benevolence and humanity are unveiled to the naked eye. Here the Warrior--the Historian--the Merchant--and the Lover of Natural Philosophy, will meet with some gratification; while, for having introduced my private adventures, I must make some apology--but none for those of the *lovely Slave*, who makes not the least interesting figure in these pages--as female virtue in distress, especially accompanied with youth and beauty, must ever claim protection.[35]

Blake was deeply moved by Stedman's story and by its mingling of the themes of love and slavery.

The cruelties and inhumanity of slavery outraged Blake, and the need for the abolition of slavery became the subject of a number of his works. He expressed his concern on the issue of slavery as early as 1787, when he wrote "Little Black Boy" for his *Songs of Innocence*--the same year that the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was set up in Britain.[36] The opportunity of making a further statement

on this subject, in the plates he did for Stedman's book, would have been most welcome. As Stedman's original drawings are now lost, it is difficult to say just how closely Blake adhered to them. However, Blake's engravings contained strong expressive elements and it is unlikely that they are exact copies of the drawings. *A Negro Hung Alive by the Ribs to a Gallows* (Plate 2) and *Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave* (Plate 3) are both representations of the torture of slaves. Blake emphasizes the stoical courage demonstrated by the man and woman as they undergo horrible and inhuman cruelties.

The ship in the background of *A Negro Hung Alive* has been interpreted as a symbol of mobility and freedom which, through contrast, serves as a poignant reminder of the bonds of slavery.[29] Blake, or perhaps Stedman in the original drawing, may indeed have intended the ship to be interpreted symbolically, as is likely also the case in the *vanitas* motif of the skulls and bones in *A Negro Hung Alive*; however, the ship is an image which linked slavery to the transport of slaves by sea, and therefore to the slave trade itself. This in turn reflects general attitudes of the period: the Abolition Society in England did not wish that the black slaves of the British colonies be emancipated, but only that the slave trade itself be abolished.[30] The emphasis here, then, was on the actual trading of slaves. Corresponding to this, in art the most common image used to portray slavery, and one which we will come across again in

the following chapter, was the slave ship.

The influence which Stedman's experiences had on Blake is evident in Blake's illuminated poem *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*. The poem, a complex work with layers of meanings, also strongly reflects Blake's personal ideology. The connection between *Visions* and Stedman's narrative is unmistakable, and since Blake's poem was published in 1793, he must have been working on it at the same time he was producing his illustrations for Stedman's *Narrative*. The main character in Blake's *Visions*, Oothoon, is a female slave, bound by physical shackles; she represents Woman, the slave of conventional love and hypocrisy, as well as "The Soft Soul of America". While *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* deals with current issues such as the slave trade and the rights of women, on another more timeless level, the work condemns all denial of freedom.

The work which Blake did for the end of Stedman's *Narrative* is relevant here. Woman again appears as a symbol. For the "finis" page of his book, Stedman had Blake engrave an "emblematical picture" with three allegorical female figures representing the European, African and American continents (Plate 4).[31] This work, which compositionally has much in common with many traditional representations of the Three Graces, does not, as one might assume from the title, *Europe Supported by Africa and America*, refer to the negative notion of Europeans taking advantage of the people of Africa and America. Judging by the mood of the

plate--particularly serene when compared to Blake's engravings of the black slaves--and its sensuous quality, which is always a positive element in Blake's work, this plate is intended to leave the reader on a positive note: it reflects Stedman's wish that all peoples "may henceforth and to all eternity be the props of each other".[32] The work may also be interpreted according to contemporary utopian ideas to which Blake subscribed. Europe is being supported by Africa and America. In this light, it is a pictorial statement of where Europe should look for salvation--that is, to her more primitive and natural, and therefore superior, sisters, Africa and America.

Blake was stimulated by his work for Stedman's travel book and by his affiliation with Stedman himself. However, his interests in slavery, in South America, and in other distant locations were not due simply to his affiliation with Stedman; these interests, rather, are representative of Blake's personal concerns. In addition they represent the growing humanitarian concerns of the late eighteenth century and the tendency to turn to utopian solutions in questions concerning current social injustices. Blake was by no means alone in his interest in slavery.[33] France and England were the two European countries most involved in the slave trade during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but slavery was a subject of universal controversy in intellectual circles throughout Europe.[34] At the root of the issue was the question of human freedom in general; and in

art, scenes of slavery, like those of cages and prisons, belong to a larger category of Romantic imagery which depicts the denial of human freedom.[33]

With the exception of *Europe Supported by Africa and America*, Blake's engravings done after Stedman's drawings were all based on Stedman's actual travel experiences. This type of travel imagery often had various possible levels of interpretation, but on the whole it was initially intended as literal illustration of actual travel experiences; other social, political or even aesthetic concerns were secondary. However, in other works travel imagery which was closely linked to actual experiences of travel was employed by the artist chiefly as a means of evoking feelings of the Romantic sublime.

In 1719, Jonathan Richardson, referring to painting, wrote that the sublime "must be Marvellous, and Surprising. It must strike vehemently upon the Mind, and Fill and Captivate it irresistably".[34] This early view conforms in part to the Romantic notion of the sublime, but one gains a more complete understanding of the sublime from the theories of Edmund Burke, expressed in his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, first published in 1757.

For Edmund Burke, whose theory of the sublime had the most influence upon the early Romantic artists,[35] the ideas of the sublime and of the beautiful were two different and mutually exclusive concepts. According to Burke's

Philosophical Enquiry, the sublime is aroused by pain and terror and also by obscurity, power, vastness, infinity, difficulty, magnificence and darkness.[38] The extent to which a work succeeds in recreating the experience of the sublime can be measured according to the violence of emotion aroused. "Astonishment", wrote Burke, "is the effect of the sublime in its highest degree; the inferior effects are admiration, reverence and respect";[39] and the term "astonishment" is defined by Burke as

> that state of the soul in which all its motions are suspended with some degree of horror. In this case the mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by consequence reason on that object which employs it.[40]

Burke's sublime is not rational; it affects the soul more than the mind. The violence and strength of the feeling associated with the sublime are also emphasized in his writing. This heightened degree of feeling, so typical of much Romantic thought, is often an important characteristic of travel imagery at this time. The reason many artists undertook journeys was indeed to seek in nature that which would suspend the soul "with some degree of horror". They found awe-inspiring experiences in a variety of subjects which ranged from a lion attacking a horse, to thunderous, cascading waterfalls and threatening, looming mountains. The latter two subjects are closely connected to Burke's statement that "Greatness of dimension is a powerful cause of the sublime".[41]

Joseph Mallord Turner was among those whose travel imagery reflected the artist's personal experiences of the sublime in nature. In 1793, when Turner was eighteen years old, France declared war on England; this, in effect, closed the Continent to British tourists. One result was an increased interest among artists in travel within Britain--a trend which had already been gaining support throughout the 1780's and which was particularly stimulated at this time by the appearance of travel literature centering on domestic tours.[42] William Gilpin had published several volumes concerning travel in Britain which emphasized an aesthetic appreciation of natural scenery.[43] These and other works on travel encouraged artists to undertake sketching tours.

Between 1792 and 1801 Turner travelled extensively in England, Wales and Scotland. In 1802, the Continent was once again open and he was able to travel abroad for the first time; he seized the opportunity and set out for France and Switzerland. From this point on in Turner's career, scarcely a year passed that he did not take part in at least one sketching tour, sometimes within Britain, but often abroad. His travels included numerous trips to France, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Germany and Belgium.

At times Turner's travel imagery is somewhat literal and matter-of-fact, as in his topographical views or in works which rather conservatively aim at recording a picturesque view. Yet at other times, and increasingly as his career progressed, Turner's travel paintings belong

among his strongest and most personal artistic works. The artist executed a countless number of sketches and drawings on his various journeys--works which reflect a wide range of natural phenomena and a keen interest in the Romantic sublime. A recurring theme in Turner's landscapes is the awe-inspiring, and often terrifying, force of the natural elements; man is reduced to an insignificant and powerless creature in the face of an omnipotent nature.

One such work is a watercolour, inspired by Turner's passage through the Alps, which focuses on the hostile elements and perils involved in such a journey; *Messieurs les Voyageurs on their return from Italy (...) in a snowdrift on Mount Tarrar* (Plate 5), done in 1829, was based on an incident which occurred during the journey back from Italy in January of the same year. The focus here is clearly on man's struggle for survival in a hostile natural environment. The Alps themselves have dissolved into the background, and the emphasis is on the snow which surrounds the figures crouched around the fire. Turner writes of this crossing of the Alps in a letter to Charles Lock Eastlake, describing the snowed-in roads and the over-turned coach; he goes on to report:

> The same night we were [again] turned out to walk up to our knees in new fallen drift to get assistance to dig a channel thro' it for the coach so that from Foligno to within twenty miles of Paris I never saw the road but snow.[4]

The contrast between the swirling snow and the glowing fire--and thus the contrast between death and life--strikes

the viewer immediately. And although the painting is the result of one personal experience, it also transcends this level, as does much of Turner's work. In the tension it represents between life and death, between man and the elements, it departs from the literal and becomes universal in its implications.[45]

The appearance of alpine scenery in art[46] was often directly inspired by personal travel experiences, as in the case of Turner's *Messieurs les Voyageurs*, but these images also sometimes originated in the artists' imaginations or were inspired by literature, especially poetry. This is true, for example, of John Martin's *The Bard* of 1817 (Plate 6).[47] Martin's painting was inspired by Thomas Gray's poem of the same title, which dates from 1757. Reflecting Burke's ideas on the sublime, Martin here emphasizes the dizzying height of the cliff[48] from which the Bard curses the troops below. Terrifying heights and dramatic precipices are also sublime components of the numerous Romantic views of avalanche, including Turner's *The Fall of the Avalanche in the Grisons* (Plate 7).

It is clear that travel and the quest for the sublime were often closely connected. The mysteries of nature were being scrutinized and reassessed by the Romantics, and it was not unusual for artists and writers to undertake journeys solely in order to search for more violent or stirring natural scenes of the sublime. Nor was the quest for the sublime confined to British writers and artists. In

his *Critique of Judgement* of 1790, for example, Emmanuel Kant, echoing the ideas of Burke, expresses the desirability of observing the violence of nature; he also writes of the spiritual nature of the sublime and of the power of the sublime to lift the soul:

> Overhanging rocks, storm clouds gathering in the sky and advancing with a cortege of thunder and lightning, volcanoes in all their power of destruction, hurricanes leaving a trail of devastation behind them, the boundless ocean in its fury, the high waterfalls of a mighty river, here are things that reduce our power of resistance to insignificance. But the more terrible they look the more attractive they are, provided we stand in safety; and we may call them sublime because they raise the energy of the soul beyond its average level.[9]

Travel was clearly a subject which held a strong fascination for the Romantics, affecting not only those who were able to undertake journeys abroad, but also those who were not. Knowledge of foreign lands and personal experiences of travel was widely disseminated through verbal as well as visual images. In many cases, in addition to reflecting the popular fascination with foreign lands and journeys abroad, the appearance of these images in art also reflects the current interest in the Romantic sublime. This interest in turn is part of a larger tendency, that is, the use of subjects related to travel to express philosophical or spiritual concerns.

Chapter III

The Ship at Sea: Toward a Modern Iconography

One of the most common travel images in Romantic art is that of the ship at sea. Marine painting was a popular genre throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and its most direct artistic antecedents may be traced to seventeenth-century Dutch sea-pieces.[1] In the Romantic period there were many mediocre marine paintings which were often nothing more than paraphrases of earlier works; among these were ship portraits, visual records of sea battles, and narrative depictions of sea adventures. In many cases these works were commissioned by marine merchants or naval officers.[2] However, there are also Romantic paintings of ships which reflect the artists' own aesthetic and ideological interests. Works of this nature often centre on disasters or potential disasters at sea, including such subjects as ships in storms, fires at sea, as well as shipwrecks.

The Romantic fascination with the perils of the sea reflected current realities of travel by sea. In 1812, the little known author John Graham Dalyell wrote about shipwreck:

> Shipwreck may be ranked among the greatest evils which men can experience. It is never void of danger, frequently of fatal issue, and invariably productive of regret. It is one against which there is least resource, where patience, fortitude and ingenuity are unavailing, except to prolong a struggle with destiny, which, at length, proves irresistable.[3]

Given the uncertainty and danger involved in actual travel

by sea, it is not surprising that images of ships and shipwreck were chosen by many as metaphors for death and the vicissitudes of human destiny.

The philosophical content of paintings of ships at sea, while revealing an important connection to traditional iconography, also reflects some of the concerns most crucial to the Romantic sensibility. It points to man's insignificant and perilous position in the universe and emphasizes human dependence on chance and fortune. Moreover, in these works the sea is depicted as one of the most sublime and terrifying powers known to man. Artists such as Vernet, de Loutherbourg, and Morland, were attracted to images of the sea chiefly because of the ability of the images to arouse in the viewer strong emotions of terror and awe; these artists showed little concern for philosophical content. Their marine paintings are important, however, because they represent a kind of imagery which was very popular and which played a significant role in the development of subsequent Romantic paintings of the sea. Popular images of this kind influenced the marine paintings of three major artists, Turner, Géricault and Friedrich, as well as related works by other artists.

During the Romantic period, subjects which in the past had been acceptable only in popular prints, such as those which accompanied narrative accounts of sea disasters, were now more frequently adopted in academic art.[4] Even though sea disasters had been depicted in art before the Romantic

period, earlier artists seldom centered as dramatically on man's struggle in the face of danger, nor on the human terror caused by shipwreck. Claude Joseph Vernet is an early example of a Romantic artist whose paintings of shipwreck focus on the drama and sublime horror of the scene.

Vernet's immensely popular paintings of shipwreck, such as *Storm off the Coast* of 1773 (Plate 8), were regularly exhibited in the Salon in Paris between 1746 and 1789.[8] These works, which influenced many artists, attest to Vernet's careful balancing of two concerns: "truth" and "emotional response". On the one hand, he paid particular attention to the accurate imitation of nature or to "truth" (early in his career he even went so far as to have himself lashed to the mast of the ship during a fierce storm, so that he might be able to observe the elements);[9] and on the other hand, Vernet was particularly concerned with the sublime mood of the work and with the composition's ability to stir an intense emotional response in the viewer.[10]

In England, two artists who were notably influenced by Vernet's sea-pieces were Philip de Loutherbourg and George Morland.[11] De Loutherbourg's scenes of shipwrecks and of battles at sea were particularly dramatic,[12] as is apparent in his work of 1793 entitled *Survivors of a Shipwreck attacked by Robbers* (Plate 9). The small scene of the struggling figures at the right of the composition borders on the melodramatic, and the sea crashing in on the rocks is as important as the figures. De Loutherbourg who, like

Vernet, demonstrates an interest in rendering the natural elements realistically, has chosen this imaginary subject in order to create a painting of picturesque horror. Similar in mood and execution to de Loutherbourg's painting is George Morland's undated *Shipwreck* (Plate 10); this work reveals a comparable combination of human melodrama, stormy sea and partially overcast sky.

Morland's and de Loutherbourg's shipwrecks were straightforward images of a popular subject which the artists could count on to provoke immediate emotional responses in their viewers. At the same time in England, other artists were also using the shipwreck motif with srikingly different results. The most important of these artists was Turner, who executed numerous scenes of one or more ships on a vast expanse of water; and many of these were scenes of shipwreck. Compared to the sea-pieces of Morland and de Loutherbourg, Turner's paintings were at once more complicated and more personal. His marine works were based on his perceptions of reality and his interest in the sublime; they also reflected his knowledge of past and contemporary poetry and, in some cases, may be considered as continuations of the traditional iconography of the symbolic ship.

Similar to Turner's alpine travel imagery, many of the artist's marine scenes have a basis in his personal experiences of travel; this is reflected clearly in the care with which the elements are rendered. Turner's close

observation of sea and sky, and of the way they changed according to the time of day or type of weather, is clearly evident in these works. However, while the motif of the ship at sea was ideal for allowing Turner to explore his interest in natural forces and atmospheric conditions in a formal way, it also provided the means of exploring a theme which was fundamental to much of the artist's work and which has already been discussed in relation to his alpine work, that is, the theme of man in perilous confrontation with the elemental forces of nature.

Turner's fascination with marine subjects emerged early in his career; in fact, the first oil painting he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1796 was a work entitled *Fishermen at Sea* (Plate 11).[10] This carefully composed and deliberately painted academic work is not typical of Turner's later, more spontaneous-looking paintings with similar motifs. It does, however, point to a connection between Turner's work and traditional academic painting. Turner admired the work of Claude as well as of the seventeenth-century Dutch School of marine painters, and the sea-pieces of Willem van de Velde in particular;[11] he was also influenced by the work of contemporary artists. *Fishermen at Sea*, for example, reveals an affinity with the night-pieces of the British painter Joseph Wright of Derby;[12] this is particularly true of the meticulous rendering--almost scientific in nature--of the moon breaking through the clouds and of the resulting reflections of light

on the water. Of more significance to Turner, however, was Claude Joseph Vernet, whose Romantic marine compositions Turner is known to have copied.[3] Vernet's concern with balancing the sublime mood of his works with the accurate imitation of nature based on careful observation was also a fundamental concern to Turner. However, unlike many earlier artists, Turner was able to use Vernet's compositions as a point of departure, as became obvious in his marine paintings which followed *Fishermen at Sea*.

In 1805 Turner painted *The Shipwreck: Fishing Boats Endeavouring to Rescue the Crew* (Plate 12). The threatening dominance of the natural forces in the composition once again reminds one of Turner's sublime alpine travel imagery. The artist's brush strokes are looser than in the earlier *Fishermen at Sea*, and there is less of a distinction between sea and sky. The tendency towards looser brushwork, as will be seen, is characteristic of Turner's more mature style.

About five years after *The Shipwreck*, Turner executed his *Wreck of a Transport Ship* (Plate 13). Similar to his shipwreck of 1805, this work underlines the artist's fascination with the energies of nature; in both works the human drama is also clear and important. There may be a relationship between *The Wreck of a Transport Ship* and the actual event of the sinking of the ship the *Minotaur* in 1810. However, as the exact date of Turner's painting is unknown, this question will likely never be satisfactorily answered. Whether or not the painting was based on the

actual event, the fact that it was exhibited in the mid-nineteenth century under the title *The Wreck of the Minotaur, Seventy-four, on the Haak Sands, 22nd December 1810* is witness to the naturalism of the work, which lends the drama a convincing documentary quality.

In Turner's work the tendency towards dissolution of form apparent in *The Shipwreck* becomes more obvious when one compares the three marine pieces of 1796, 1805, and c.1810; the progressively looser, more expressive brushstrokes, as well as the increasingly obscure distinction between sea and sky, are striking. In later works, Turner's exploration of atmospheric conditions and his preoccupation with the effects of light on form assume even more importance in the composition, and the narrative qualities obvious in earlier works, although still important, become more difficult to recognize. Regardless of this tendency, however, Turner was never interested only in the formal possibilities of a work. His deepest concerns were more philosophical. It is in this light that Turner's use of the shipwreck theme may be considered a metaphor of man's eternal struggle for existence. The metaphor is, in fact, related to the traditional *vanitas* motif, emphasizing the transience of man's life on earth and the insignificance of his position in the universe. These tentative and somewhat pessimistic existential probings belong to a larger, more general Romantic tendency. In part, they were the result of the increasing rejection of traditional religious ideas, which

in the past had served to provide ready answers to questions concerning human existence. They were also related to the social and economic uncertainties of the period.

This philosophical content in visual marine imagery found a parallel in Romantic literature and poetry, and Turner was among those Romantic artists whose works were most conspicuously linked to poetry. He often turned to poetry for inspiration, and he was interested in combining verse and painting. To this end, he frequently wrote poetry himself, or chose verses from the writings of others,[14] to accompany his paintings. Turner was well-read in the poetry of the eighteenth century, and the two poets of that century who exerted an important influence on the artist's marine works, and indeed who had a great impact on Romantic marine paintings in general, were James Thomson and William Falconer.

While the symbolic significance of marine imagery in the poems of both Thomson and Falconer is complex and is often related to England's expansionist policies and the economic importance of marine trade, the symbolism is also more universal. Both Falconer's *The Shipwreck* and Thomson's *The Seasons*, like Turner's paintings of shipwreck, use the theme of shipwreck as a symbol of the human condition.[15]

Thomson's poetry played an important role in the development of Turner's overall artistic sensibility;[16] the spiritual element in Thomson's descriptions of nature,[17] as well as his emphasis on nature in motion and on the

description of atmospheric conditions, all correspond closely to Turner's own concerns. It is evident that Turner particularly admired Thomson's most famous poem, *The Seasons*, first published in 1730; as early as 1798, the artist chose passages from this work to accompany four of the paintings he exhibited at the Royal Academy.[19]

In English poetry of the first half of the eighteenth century, the image of the ship was ambiguous in nature. At times it was a positive statement representing man's triumph over the elemental forces of nature.[20] It was also sometimes a nationalist symbol of England and the successes of her commercial expansion.[21] But in Thomson's work, it was evident that another, darker side, was already attached to the symbolic ship--a side which hinted at doom or destruction. This is the mood which the Romantics frequently adopted. It is clear in Thomson's description of a storm at sea:

> In the dread Ocean, undulating wide,
> Beneath the radiant Line that girts the Globe,
> The circling Typhon, whirled from Point to Point,
> Exhausting all the Rage of all the Sky,
> And dire Ecnephia reign....
> A faint deceitful Calm,
> A fluttering Gale, the Demon sends before
> To tempt the spreading Sail. Then down at once
> Precipitant descends a mingled Mass
> Of roaring Winds and Flame and rushing Floods....[22]

The other eighteenth century poet to have a notable influence on the Romantic portrayal of marine subjects in art was the Scot, William Falconer. The sublime drama of his poem *The Shipwreck*, first published in 1762, ensured its popularity for more than half a century. The poem's ability

to arouse strong emotions in the reader is particularly evident in the following lines:

> Again she plunges! hark! a second shock
> Bilges the splitting vessel on the rock--
> Down on the vale of death, with dismal cries
> The fated victims cast their shuddering eyes
> In wild despair; while yet another stroke
> With strong convulsions rends the solid oak.[22]

By 1805, a number of illustrated editions of the poem had been published, including an 1804 edition with engravings done after the original designs of the sea captain Nicholas Pocock.[23] The illustrations as well as the poem itself had obviously captured the imagination of the Romantics and likely stimulated the already existing fascination with images of sea disaster. By the year 1830, *The Shipwreck* had gone to at least twenty-four editions in Britain.[24]

The symbolic ship, a recurring image in the writings of the Romantic period in Britain, was often accompanied by a strong, almost pictorial accent on light.[25] The light of dawn or of sunset, moonlight, and the unusual light which may occur during a storm, were all described in combination with a ship in order to emphasize the beauty and mysteriousness of the image; the different kinds of light, sometimes gently and lyrically centering on the ship, sometimes violently highlighting it, in effect tend to isolate the ship and to emphasize its solitude. Furthermore, in many cases, the lighting subtly points to a spiritual or supernatural quality in the image. The combination of the light of late afternoon and its reflection on the water, for example, introduces the spectre-ship in Coleridge's *The Rime*

of the Ancient Mariner:

> The western wave was all a-flame.
> The day was well nigh done!
> Almost upon the western wave
> Rested the broad bright Sun;
> When that strange shape drove suddenly
> Betwixt us and the Sun.[26]

And Coleridge's mysterious skeleton ship, with its two passengers of Death and a woman representing Life-in-Death, also disappears accompanied by a strong suggestion of light effects:

> The Sun's rim dips; the stars rush out:
> At one stride comes the dark;
> With far-heard whisper, o'er the sea,
> Off shot the spectre-bark.[27]

Coleridge's description of his spectre-ship drew on a number of sources including folklore.[28] According to popular legend, for example, phantom-ships would often appear at the time of day just prior to the setting of the sun.[29] Wordsworth described the transformation of an ordinary ship at sunset caused by the light effects, and compared it to the ship in Coleridge's poem, describing what he saw as "the bare masts of a vessel on the very edge of the horizon and within the red-orbed disk of the setting sun, like his [Coleridge's] own spectre-ship."[30]

Turner, like his literary contemporaries, emphasized light effects in many of his works, including many of his sea-pieces. He would have been well aware of and undoubtedly stimulated by the parallels in poetry and prose.

In one of Turner's later marine works, the artist's interest in light is clearly evident. *Slavers throwing*

overboard the dead and dying--Typhoon coming on (Plate 14), exhibited in 1840, is one of the climaxes in Turner's marine paintings. The image is one of death and destruction with a supernatural element suggested by the strange light caused by the storm. Again, Thomson's *The Season's* played an important role; it is quite likely that Turner was stirred by the following,[31] as well as by other past and contemporary writings on slavery:

> Increasing still the Terror of these Storms,
> His Jaws horrific armed with threefold Fate,
> Here dwells the direful Shark. Lured by the Scent
> Of steaming Crowds, of rank Disease, and Death.
> Behold! He rushing cuts the briny Flood,
> Swift as the Gale can bear the Ship along:
> And from the Partners of that cruel Trade
> Which spoils unhappy Guinea of her Sons
> Demands his share of Prey--demands themselves.
> The stormy Fates descend: one Death involves
> Tyrants and Slaves; when straight, their mangled Limbs
> Crashing at once, he dyes the purple Seas
> With Gore, and riots in the vengeful Meal.[32]

In his painting *Slavers*, Turner is also very likely to have been affected by the true account of the slave-ship *Zong*.[33] The event had occurred in 1783. An epidemic had broken out among the black slaves, and the captain, being insured only for those slaves lost at sea, and not for those who died as a result of disease, had the sick thrown overboard.[34]

The painting, while based in literal reality, transcends this level. There is an almost total dissolution of concrete form, and colour and light combine with an apocalyptic intensity. Turner was horrified by the atrocities committed by the ship's captain, and indeed horrified by slavery in general; but here he is using the

subject to underline the larger theme of man's inhumanity to man and to present his own pessimistic view of human existence. As with many of Turner's paintings, the scope of *Slavers* is at once specific and universal, contemporary and timeless. Nature here assumes a somewhat different role than that in Turner's earlier marine and alpine scenes, where the natural elements are threatening and emphasize man's insignificance and the hopelessness of his struggle with the forces of nature. While these ideas have not changed in *Slavers*, an additional dimension is present: the destructive powers of nature in the form of a fiery storm appear as punishment for man's evil.

An important symbolic element in almost all of Turner's marine works is the idea of hope or its opposite, hopelessness, represented through ships at sea. In the paintings of shipwrecks and storms at sea, in most cases there is an emphasis on man's struggle to survive--hope being the only thing to which he can cling. At times, however, the scene indicates the lack of hope or the desperation of man's situation. In *Slaveship*, as in Turner's long, unfinished poem "The Fallacies of Hope", this latter, more pessimistic philosophical view is presented.[33] The death and destruction present in Turner's *Slaveship* relate it to other marine works he painted during the same period. *The Fighting Téméraire Tugged to Her Last Berth* (Plate 15) of 1839 and *Peace, Burial at Sea* (Plate 16) of 1842 both use images of the ship at sea to represent themes of death.

However, a very significant difference exists between these two works and *Slavers* in that the former paintings are calm and contemplative in mood--free of the inherent pessimism of *Slavers*. This difference underlines the basic ambiguity of this type or imagery.

In Turner's *Slaveship*, *The Fighting Téméraire*, and *Peace, Burial at Sea*, the ship as an image of death--an image which will also be encountered in the marine works of Friedrich--belongs to the long and changing tradition of the symbolic ship in art and literature.[34] When searching for a means of expressing some of their more abstract ideas concerning human fate, Romantic artists turned again and again, whether consciously or unconsciously, to the existing iconography of the ship at sea.[35] Nevertheless, to the Romantics traditional marine images served only as conceptual points of departure, for in most cases the artists transformed the images to meet new needs.

Charon's barque, an imortant image of the boat as death stemming from Classical mythology, appealed strongly to Romantic artists. The ferryman taking his passengers across the river of death into the underworld was described by Vergil:

> From here is a path that leads to the waters of Acheron, a river of Tartarus, whose seething flood boils turbid with mud in vast eddies and pours all its sand into the stream of Cocytus. A ferryman guards these waters, Charon, horrifying in his terrible squalor; a mass of white beard lies unkempt on his chin, his eyes glow with a steady flame, and a dirty cloak hangs from his shoulders by a knot. He pushes his boat himself by a pole, tends to the sails, and conveys the bodies across in his rusty

craft....[3]

The figure of Charon, who also appears in Canto 3 of Dante's *Inferno*, evokes feelings of terror and mystery which fit well with the concept of the Romantic sublime. In addition to falling within the category of the boat as a metaphorical image of death, Charon's barque is also closely tied to the image of the boat which, as it proceeds on its inevitable course towards death, represents the voyage of life.

A number of Romantic artists depicted the ferryman Charon in their work. An early example is Romney's drawing of *Psyche being rowed across the Styx* (1776-78, Plate 17). Better known was Flaxman's illustration of the *Barque of Charon* for Dante's *Inferno* (Plate 18). Other Romantic artists who chose to portray this subject included Romney's and Flaxman's compatriot William Blake, the French artist Anne Louis Girodet, the Roman Bartolomeo Pinelli, as well as the native of Austria, Joseph Anton Koch. In addition to the works done by these artists is Delacroix's painting *The Barque of Dante* (Plate 19) of 1822, which is perhaps the most important and certainly the best-known Romantic rendition of this subject.

The numerous appearances of Charon's barque in Romantic art, it may be argued, only reflect the great popularity of Dante at this time. However, certain themes in Dante's work were chosen more often than others and may therefore be considered to have been of particular import to the Romantics. An image such as Charon ferrying his passengers

across the River Styx attracted the Romantics because of the general vogue for Dante and for themes from Classical mythology, and because of the sublime nature of the subject. In addition, and perhaps most significantly, the Romantics were attracted to Charon's barque because of the subject's relationship to death, the underworld, and the unknown.

In the Romantic depictions of Charon's barque, the symbolic image of the boat stems directly from Classical times. The image of the boat representing one or more aspects of the voyage of life also appears in Christian imagery.

The Ship of Life appears in various guises in traditional imagery. The ship sometimes represents the Three Ages of Man,[39] but it was also variously chosen as a symbol for Mankind, the Church or the State.[40] It also appears as an attribute in emblematic depictions of *Spes* or hope.[41] In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*,[42] for example, the personification of *Spes* appears with an anchor behind her. While the ship implies the uncertain and perilous aspects of life, the anchor clearly is an image which provides security and stability to the ship and, by extension, to life itself.[43] These, and other symbolic images of the ship, recurred frequently in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were many variations, but intended meanings were often very similar.[44]

Images involving travel by sea, then, had played a prominent role prior to the Romantic period in illustrating

abstract concepts concerning human destiny. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Romantic artists, who would have been aware of this tradition in art, also turned to images of ships in order to explore their own ideas regarding human existence. This has been seen in the works of Turner. Another important example in Romantic art is Géricault's use of the shipwreck motif in his monumental painting *The Raft of the Medusa* (Plate 20), executed in 1818-1819.

As in the case of Turner's *The Slave Ship*, Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa* is linked to a contemporary event. It embodies all the important characteristics of travel imagery which have thus far been discussed. Adventure and the exotic, as well as macabre and gruesome examples of the sublime, are all present; the subject was contemporary and politically controversial, and yet at the same time it was universal in the questions concerning human existence that it addressed. *The Raft*, in fact, is one of the artistic climaxes in the overall body of Romantic travel imagery.

The Raft of the Medusa was based on a travel disaster which occurred in 1816. A survivor's full account was published in the *Journal des Débats*,[45] and public reaction to the story was immediate, intense and widespread. The captain, who had been hired by the government, escaped in a lifeboat, thus abandoning his responsibility for the safety of the crew and passengers on the raft. To many, his treacherous behavior was a true reflection of the corruption

of the Bourbon monarchy itself.[46]

Géricault made numerous preparatory drawings for his painting. He even had the raft reconstructed so that he might study its motion on the water.[47] He also did studies of dying patients, as well as of severed limbs and heads (Plate 21). While these works point to Géricault's dedication to realism, they also indicate an aesthetic concern for the Romantic sublime. The younger artist Delacroix was among those to recognize in these studies the "truly sublime" and "the best possible argument in favour of the Beautiful".[48]

The Raft of the Medusa depicts the moment when survivors of the raft had spotted a ship on the horizon and were attempting to hail it.[49] Although the painting had started out as a particularly horrifying marine disaster with strong political implications, Géricault's work gradually began to assume a broader, more universal significance. The finished painting goes beyond the description of a particular event, and the theme becomes the conflict between human beings and the elemental forces of nature.[50] The composition itself reinforces the tension and the unresolved conflict: the diagonal running from the lower left to the upper right corner of the composition emphasizes the physical and psychological straining of the figures who are reaching out toward an uncertain salvation--that is, toward the diminutive ship on the horizon. The concentration of energy culminates in the figure who rises above the

others. Géricault placed this man, who is black, at the apex of a strong pyramid of humanity. This is undoubtedly an allusion to the slave trade, but here, the desperation of the situation on the raft has erased any idea of slave-master relationships which may once have existed among the victims on the raft. A parallel is present in Turner's *Slave Ship*, in which slave-master relationship has also disappeared: in Turner's work, the equalizing factors are the destructive forces of the storm, sea and sharks. In Géricault's work, however, the idea is somewhat different and perhaps not quite as bleak. The black man is placed in a superior position; not only does this figure represent the apex of the human pyramid compositionally, but he also represents the concentrated hope of all the victims on the raft. In this respect *The Raft of the Medusa* is similar to Blake's *Europe Supported by Africa and America*.

The raft may be interpreted as an allegorical image of life itself and of the human struggle for eternal salvation. The entire composition,in turn, may be considered an allegory of the voyage of life, and in this way it is closely related to the traditional iconography of the ship at sea.

Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* was painted at the same time Byron was composing the shipwreck canto in *Don Juan*. The parallel between these two works is particularly striking when one considers the verses in Byron's poem which describe the sighting of land:

> And then of these some part burst into tears,
> And others, looking with a stupid stare,
> Could not yet separate their hopes from fears,
> And seemed as if they had no further care;
> While a few pray'd--(the first time for some in years)--
> And at the bottom of the boat three were
> Asleep: they shook them by the hand and head,
> And tried to awaken them, but found them dead.''

Aside from the macabre element present in this description, the psychological state in which the victims of shipwreck find themselves is similar to that portrayed by Géricault in his work. Salvation is by no means certain, although relatively close at hand. Hope is again a dominant theme, as it was in Turner's paintings of the sea, as well as in Géricault's *Raft*. The traditional bond between *Spes* and marine imagery was clearly continued in the Romantic period.

Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* and Turner's *Slaveship* both deal with subjects which are at once modern and universal; this duality also appears in numerous other Romantic scenes of shipwreck. The abstract meanings of this type of painting, and in particular the notion of the need for salvation, link Romantic images of shipwreck closely to a traditional artistic subject: that is, the Deluge. Géricault was among the Romantic artists attracted to this subject. Unlike scenes of shipwreck, however, the Deluge was seldom obviously tied to modern events.

Romantic scenes of the Deluge generally did not focus on the ark, but rather on the condemned figures abandoned to perish in the flood. The theme of the Deluge, like that of shipwreck, presents man abandoned to the hostile elements in

a very uncertain and temporary position of safety: that is, man in need of salvation.

Many of the Romantics who depicted the Deluge were inspired by Milton's verses which describe scenes of devastation.[52] Again, the sublime nature of the subject is a significant factor accounting for its popularity among the Romantics.[53] It had been a subject which appeared in art in the century preceding the Romantic period--with Poussin's *Deluge* being among the best-known examples--but it seems to have gained importance rather suddenly during the last few decades of the eighteenth century.[54]

The Romantic interest in the theme of the Deluge is symptomatic of a preoccupation with the end of the world,[55] which in turn underlines the general feelings of apprehension and insecurity which were particularly prevalent during the turbulence of the last two decades of the eighteenth century. A passage about the future of Paris written in 1782, from *Tableau de Paris*, exemplifies this general air of uneasiness:

> Est-ce la guerre, est-ce la peste, est-ce la famine, est-ce un tremblement de terre, est-ce une inondation, est-ce un incendie; est-ce une révolution politique, qui anéantira cette superbe ville?[56]

In 1783, Michel-Honoré Bounieu exhibited his *Déluge* in his own studio.[57] The work, which is now lost, was rejected by the Salon; nevertheless, it marked the beginnings of a renewed interest in the subject of the Deluge.[58]

In Géricault's *Déluge* (Plate 22) of 1815-1816, a clear parallel can be drawn with earlier images of shipwrecks, such as those by Claude Joseph Vernet. Géricault would have known of many of these shipwrecks through the copies which were executed by Vernet's son Carle.[5] Being threatened by the menacing elements, man is placed in a position of desperation. The victims of Géricault's *Déluge* are also clearly related to his *Raft of the Medusa*.

It is significant that the dramatic light in Géricault's *Déluge*, which creates a sinister mood of foreboding, is almost invariably an important element in Romantic scenes of shipwreck. The meaning in paintings of the Deluge and of shipwrecks is, in fact, largely the same: man is presented as a victim, either of God or of fate. In the Biblical iconography of the Flood, the notion of punishment is paramount. In the more modern theme of the shipwreck, the idea of punishment may also be implied. A strong current runs through both these themes: the idea of man cast adrift in a hostile and confused environment--man in desperate need of salvation. An important difference here is that the Romantics, in their use of the theme of shipwreck, have modernized a traditional iconography, relating it directly to actual events of the world in which they were living.

In Géricault's *Déluge* the horseman attempting to rescue a victim points to another, earlier work which is related to the traditional subject of the Deluge, but which depicts the

victims of a shipwreck. George Romney's *Woltemad Rescuing the Shipwrecked off the Cape of Good Hope* was inspired by a contemporary marine disaster. The lost oil sketch of Woltemad, painted c.1793 or 1794,[8] is known through an engraving executed by William Blake in 1809 (Plate 23). The subject, again, is modern and yet at the same time universal.[9] The sea disaster occurred off the Cape of Good Hope in June 1772, and as Romney's biographer William Hayley pointed out,[10] it was recorded in the travel account of Thurnberg.[11] The horseman Woltemad sacrificed his own life in order to save the lives of those who had been shipwrecked. Hayley refers to the "humane achievements, and disastrous fate of this compassionate mortal" which are the subjects of Romney's design.[12] The work indicates Romney's concern for subjects depicting humanitarian deeds.[13] Also important are the familiar universal implications of man abandoned in a threatening universe, with little hope of salvation.[14]

Romney's work was symbolic on the one hand, but it was also clearly tied to literal reality. Symbolism or allegory, while an important part of Romantic art in general, was seldom stated in overt or obvious terms.[15] A notable exception, however, is the German painter Caspar David Friedrich, who is one of the few artists who at times deviates from this general tendency. His works are often explicitly religious in content, and the artist makes no attempt to disguise their meaning. When the subject is not

overtly religious, it nevertheless usually evokes a feeling of spirituality--a spirituality which often seems embodied in the landscape itself. Friedrich was a deeply religious man, and his religion, as well as his keen awareness of the nature-philosophy of his day, is reflected in his art throughout his career.

Friedrich was strongly attracted to the image of the ship as a metaphor of human existence. One of his earliest oil paintings, *Mist* (Plate 24), painted in 1807, depicts a rowboat travelling towards an anchored ship which is just discernable through a heavy mist. This work was recognized by contemporary writers as an allegory of death.[8] The mist refers to the mystery of death, while the light represents hope.[9] The supernatural feeling suggested by the mist and by the light, as well as the compositional importance of these two elements, points to marked similarities between the work of Friedrich and that of Turner. The symbolism, so obvious to Friedrich's contemporaries, also reflects much of the traditional, and in particular the emblematic, symbolic imagery related to ships at sea. In 1815, Friedrich executed *The Cross on Rügen* (Plate 25), perhaps in remembrance of a friend who died that year.[10] Again, the ship at sea is a clear symbol of death or of the spiritual journey one undertakes at the time of death. The hope of salvation is also clear; the moon, which represents Christ,[11] illuminates the path leading to the cross on the rock, and the anchor also represents the hope of salvation. Here, the dominant

Christian symbols of the cross and the rock point to the religious and optimistic mood of the work.

The year following the execution of *The Cross at Rügen*, Friedrich once again turned to the symbolism of the ship at sea to convey his personal religious beliefs. *Ship on High Seas in Full Sail* (Plate 26) is also directly related to traditional Christian iconography. The single ship in full sail in this work is parallel to earlier Christian images in which the ship represents Christianity itself,[72] the three masts being a reference to the Divine Trinity.

During the years 1815 to 1820, most of Friedrich's works were small sea-pieces,[73] all of which were imbued with symbolic content. The symbolism of Friedrich's landscapes is related to the beliefs arising out of the nature-philosophy which were being explored by Friedrich's contemporaries and which in many cases he shared.

Friedrich's paintings, as well as his own writings, reveal an attitude toward nature very close to that expressed by the philosopher F.W.J. von Schelling.[74] To Friedrich, landscape painting was not a means of expressing the external realities before him, but rather a means of expressing his own inward vision.[75] Accordingly, he wrote,

> A painter should not merely paint what he sees in front of him, he ought to paint what he sees within himself. If he sees nothing within, he should not paint what he sees before him....[76]

Friedrich's marine imagery clearly belonged to this symbolic, visionary type of landscape. The three early sea-pieces which have been examined share two elements

characteristic of Friedrich's overall use of marine imagery. The first is the recurring presence of the theme of death--a leitmotiv in many of Friedrich's works. And the second, which is closely connected to the predominance of the theme of death, is the expression of the artist's profound religious beliefs, and in particular his belief in salvation. There is no sense of fear or questioning in these three sea-pieces; they are pervaded by a calm and contemplative--even gently optimistic--mood. The transience of earthly life is clearly alluded to in many of Friedrich's works, but there are no accompanying suggestions of guilt or despair, nor is there any obvious didacticism. Friedrich, in a poem explaining his use of themes of death and of the transience of human life, reveals his acceptance of death and his conviction that death is a necessary step in the direction toward eternal life:

> Warum, die Frag' ist oft zur mir ergangen,
> Wählst du zum Gegenstand der Malerei
> So oft den Tod, Vergänglichkeit und Grab?
> Um ewig einst zu leben
> Muss man sich oft dem Tod ergeben.''

The themes of mortality and salvation in Friedrich's works tie him closely to Northern German Protestantism.''[8] This resignation to one's fate and the unquestioning faith in salvation are characteristics of Friedrich's work which are unlike the stormy, questioning mood of much Romantic marine imagery. For example, while Géricault's *Raft* underlined man's need for salvation, the painting is one of unresolved conflicts and tension. In contrast to *The Raft*, Friedrich's

marine works hold none of this feeling of turbulence or dilemma; the contemplative mood is echoed stylistically in the carefully balanced compositions, which also indicate Friedrich's ties with the formal concerns of Neo-classicism.''

Friedrich's fascination with images of ships should also be considered in light of the fact that he was born and raised in the harbour town of Greifswald on the Baltic coast. The comings and goings of ships in the harbour, and the changing characteristics of the sea itself, were well-known to the artist. His choice of the ship as a key symbol in his personal iconography, therefore, is not surprising. A somewhat unusual example of the symbolic ship is a painting in which Friedrich commemorated his own marriage to Caroline Bommer in 1818. In *On the Sailing Ship* (Plate 27), he and his new wife sit together in the prow of a ship. The couple is beginning their spiritual journey together, and their ship is sailing in the direction of a city which is just discernible on the horizon; this is likely a reference to the Celestial City, where the journey will end.'' The work once again has parallels in traditional artistic iconography; it belongs to the larger thematic category of the journey of life.'' Friedrich's earlier images of ships have dealt with the end of the journey, that is, with death. This work, however, implies the journey of life itself, as it is undertaken by two people bound by the ties of holy matrimony.

Not long after he completed *On the Sailing Ship*, Friedrich executed his more openly allegorical painting *Stages of Life* (Plate 28).[12] On the shore the cycle of life is illustrated by a group of children sitting with a woman, a man standing next to them, and an old man with a cane walking toward them. The figures are echoed by the five ships located in varying positions off the coast, that is, at various stages of life.[13] The central position of the largest ship in the composition reinforces the religious tone of the painting, as the masts form a cross which is silhouetted against the sky.[14]

There is another side of Friedrich which is clearly manifest in his marine works. This is the bleak pessimism which appears in a small number of his paintings--a mood which is hinted at by the gentle melancholy of many of his works, including the ones examined above, but which surfaces only in a few. This darker side of Friedrich is strongly represented in the image of the shipwreck. The wreck of a ship had been employed by other artists as a metaphor for loss of faith in human nature and in the human condition. There is a striking difference, however, between the works of Friedrich and those of his contemporaries. It has been correctly observed that while Friedrich's French and English contemporaries saw in nature "the palpable throb of life", Friedrich saw in it "the impalpable nothingness of death".[15] The vibrantly active and threatening role of nature is clear in a work such as Turner's *Slave Ship* and is also an

important factor in Géricault's *Raft*, although in the latter work the human element assumes precedence over the natural elements; but in Friedrich's *The Polar Sea* of 1824[4] (Plate 29), the static, frozen composition denies all possibility of life or movement. It is a modern icon in the vanitas tradition.

The Polar Sea[3] conveys the idea that man's hope has been crushed by the floes in this icy landscape.[4] The work may, in fact, be a representation of the wreck of the *Griper*, a ship which took part in a number of expeditions to the North Pole.[5] It is clear, however, that any literal level of meaning in *The Polar Sea* is subordinate to the universal truths. It is typical of Friedrich's work that a number of dualities are present. A literal content, however secondary, is juxtaposed with universal meaning. The specific and sharply focused details of the icefloes in the foreground contrast with the feeling of endless space as the snow almost merges with the cold arctic sky at the horizon. And--the most important dichotomy--nature, represented at her most impersonal and inhospitable by the looming ice floes and the winter landscape, contrasts sharply with the small, insignificant reference to man, embodied in the remains of the ship. The subject is once again death, but here there is no allusion to salvation. The jagged edges of the central group of ice floes, which are echoed by a more distant group to the left, underline the negative and quietly threatening quality of the work.

In *The Polar Sea*, man seems to have been abandoned by God. It is very likely this painting is partly autobiographical in content; the icy scene of destruction may allude to the tragic childhood drowning of Friedrich's brother during a skating accident.'[8]

It is difficult to reconcile *The Polar Sea* with a number of Friedrich's less pessimistic paintings. However, an important ideological similarity that runs through all his works, and that ties them together, is the feeling of total acceptance and resignation; there is no sense of struggle, nor of questioning.

The Romantic interpretations of marine subjects clearly include much symbolic content. In some of the works symbolism was only a minor consideration, but more often it was the artist's primary motivation. In the marine imagery of artists such as Vernet, de Loutherburg, and Morland, the works were likely not intended to be symbolic. Nevertheless, these early works were similar in certain respects to the later marine paintings examined; they had in common their sublime nature and their quest to elucidate man's perception of his universe. These are broad similarities, but it must be stressed that Romantic images of the sea occurred in Europe with great frequency and with numerous differences and variations as to artistic intent. It should also be noted, as has been indicated particularly in the obvious cases of Turner's and Friedrich's work, that these images afforded artists with many of the elements necessary to

explore new and meaningful artistic statements in a formal sense. What has become clear in this examination is that Romantic artists turned repeatedly to images related to the sea in order to explore some of the most crucial sentiments and ponderings of the period.

Friedrich is an important example of one who explored religious ideas through his art; in fact, he created an entirely new and very personal religious iconography. His ideas were reflected in his symbolic images of ships and the sea which appeared with great frequency in his paintings.

In the works of other Romantic artists, the sea and the ship at sea represented less well defined ideas. While Friedrich's religious beliefs were based on northern Protestantism, as well as on the nature-philosophy being propounded by a number of his contemporaries, other artists turned to marine images to express their more unresolved philosophical ponderings. This is the case with Turner and Géricault. Turner employed images of ships poignantly to explore his views of the human condition and to emphasize man's unstable position in the universe. Turner's marine works varied in mood from gentle melancholy, sometimes combined with a feeling of hope, to outright despair. Géricault, in his *Raft of the Medusa*, explored the human situation from a different point of view. Rather than addressing himself exclusively to the subject of man in relation to his external universe, Géricault, who was profoundly fascinated with the human mind, focused also on

the interaction between human beings and entered into the undefined realms of the human psyche itself.

Common to all Romantic shipwreck imagery is the underlying suggestion of man castaway in a hostile environment--abandoned by God or by fate. Romantic man was beginning to feel his existential isolation, and from this feeling arose the Cult of the Individual. In many cases, the shipwreck was a personal metaphor for the artist himself. In poetry this idea is well illustrated in William Cowper's last poem "The Castaway", of 1799, which is an allegory of the poet's own personal situation.'' At the end of his life, wrestling with recurring bouts of insanity, he chose the metaphor of a person cast into the sea during a storm to describe his situation:

> Obscurest night involv'd the sky,
> Th'Atlantic billows roar'd,
> When such a destin'd wretch as I,
> Wash'd headlong from on board,
> Of friends, of hope, of all bereft,
> His floating home for ever left.''[2]

Cowper's feeling of spiritual isolation is particularly clear in the last stanza of his poem:

> No voice divine the storm allay'd,
> No light propitious shone;
> When snatched from all effectual aid,
> We perish'd, each alone:
> But I beneath a rougher sea
> And whelm'd in deeper gulphs than he.''[3]

This sense of spiritual isolation is a poignant and recurring notion within Romantic images of shipwreck.

Chapter IV

Romantic Images of Pilgrimage: Man's Quest for Truth and Salvation

The passage of time from birth until death, and beyond death to afterlife, has long been symbolized as a journey or voyage. This metaphoric journey represents a searching for answers to questions concerning human existence; in many instances, it also encompasses the theme of the sinner slowly shedding his sins as he travels towards the Celestial City. These ideas were embodied in images of pilgrimage--another type of travel imagery which appeared frequently in Romantic art. "Pilgrimage" will be used here both in the broad sense of any journey undertaken with a spiritual purpose in mind and in the more specifically religious meaning of a journey to a shrine or a sacred place.[1]

Romantic images of pilgrimage were at times closely tied to pilgrimage literature. For example, Stothard, Flaxman and Blake designed illustrations for Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*; the latter two artists also wrote and illustrated their own poems of pilgrimage. But other artists, most notably Friedrich, executed images of pilgrimage which were not linked to a literary work. In every case, however, the Romantic artist would have been familiar with traditional literary and pictorial pilgrimage iconography; thus a brief examination of this tradition as it appeared in art in the centuries directly preceding the

Romantic period is helpful in the analysis of Romantic images of pilgrimage.

The conception of human life as a journey is probably as old as myth-making itself and has been a recurring theme since Classical times.[2] The Christian allegory of the pilgrimage representing man's journey through life is founded on two basic premises.[3] First is the belief that time is anticyclical and that history is therefore linear. And second is the Christian doctrine that the possibility of salvation lies in the future. Samuel Chew, in his book *The Pilgrimage of Life*, succinctly summarizes the traditional Christian concept of pilgrimage:

> Man, having through Sin forfeited the boon of immortality, passes into the World of Time, governed under God's ordinance by Fortune. A free agent, he may choose either of the Two Paths. If he chooses aright there are perils along the strait and narrow way, but clad in the armor of St. Paul he will be able to withstand the assaults of the Infernal Trinity, and though the Deadly Sins assail him, a great company of Virtues counsel and protect him. Death awaits him at the Journey's End, but beyond Death is the Celestial City.[4]

There were many variations on the theme of the Christian pilgrimage, but the basic concept was often the same.[5]

Paths leading towards heaven and hell were an important feature of pilgrimage iconography.[6] While the way to heaven or hell was often depicted as an actual road or path, frequently in the form of the letter "Y", it was also depicted variously as a bridge, stairway, ladder, or circle. The pilgrim, too, was important and appeared in various

guises, including that of the figure of Hercules. In the Classical story of Hercules at the cross-roads, Hercules' choice is between pleasure and virtue,[7] just as in Christian images of pilgrimage the choice is between the sinful and the righteous. The pilgrim also often appears as just an ordinary traveller, sometimes with the pilgrim's attributes of the wide-rimmed hat and staff, but sometimes without recognizable attributes. In addition, the pilgrim may appear in the form of a knight who wears the Pauline armour to protect him on his journey.[8]

These features of popular images of pilgrimage would have been known to the Romantics, either through works from the seventeenth century or earlier, or through eighteenth-century copies or adaptations. Romantic artists were not always motivated by the same moralistic or religious reasons as earlier artists, but it is clear that they remained interested in the theme of pilgrimage. The continued popularity of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is evidence of that interest.[9]

Pilgrim's Progress, an allegory of the human journey towards religious enlightenment, is only one example from the large body of seventeenth-century art and literature centering on the theme of pilgrimage. Two early sets of designs for Bunyan's work were particularly influential to later illustrators.[10] The first was engraved by Jan Luyken in 1685, and the second was designed by John Clark and engraved by John Sturt in 1727-1728. It was not until the

end of the eighteenth century that a number of British artists began breaking away from these early designs.''

The first of the early Romantic artists to illustrate *Pilgrim's Progress* was Thomas Stothard. The sixteen designs he did for this work were originally published without text in 1788-1791 by John Thane.'[12] The designs were somewhat sentimental (Plate 30), indicating the artist's indebtedness to the cult of sensibility. The illustrations emphasized those parts of Bunyan's work which appealed personally to the artist, and it is not surprising to find included in Stothard's designs domestic scenes of family gatherings; he was one of the first illustrators, for example, to concentrate to any extent on Christiana and her children,'[13] that is, on Part II of Bunyan's work.

Soon after Stothard completed his designs for Bunyan John Flaxman, while in Rome, began preparing illustrations for *Pilgrim's Progress*.'[14] The original set of illustrations--some forty in number--were likely all executed in 1792.'[15]

Although Flaxman's illustrations were designed for Bunyan's seventeenth-century writings, they diverge from traditional images of pilgrimage in that they deal with some of the preoccupations of the late eighteenth century as well as with Flaxman's personal religious beliefs. Flaxman, to even a greater extent than Stothard, concentrates on Christiana's adventures from Part II of *Pilgrim's Progress* (Plate 31). This choice may reflect the artist's religious

beliefs.'[6] Christiana, who is much more passive in her struggles than is Christian, does not take her spiritual destiny into her own hands; rather, she relies on two chief defenses: humility and trust in others.'[7] Christiana may also have appealed to Flaxman because of her role as mother and spiritual guide to her children. The Enlightenment writers, and in particular Rousseau with his *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloise* and *Emile*, were primarily responsible for bringing to the fore new ideas concerning childhood as well as the role of the mother in the child's upbringing.'[8] By shifting the emphasis from Christian to Christiana, then, Flaxman was using the traditional theme of pilgrimage as it appeared in Bunyan's work, and yet at the same time modernizing it by concentrating on aspects of the allegory which were particularly relevant to the late eighteenth century, and to Flaxman himself.

In Flaxman's illustrations the guide in knight's armour (Plate 32), Mr. Greatheart, falls within the category of the Christian pilgrim in the guise of a knight, which has been encountered in the context of traditional pilgrimage imagery. In Romantic art, however, the knight may also reflect the renewed interest in the Middle Ages.'[9] The knight is encountered again, this time as the protagonist, in Flaxman's own allegory *Knight of the Blazing Cross*.

Flaxman wrote and illustrated *Knight of the Blazing Cross* in 1796, as a birthday present for his wife Ann Denman Flaxman.[10] The work is related to his illustrations for

Pilgrim's Progress in several important ways. Flaxman intended the work to be an allegory of spiritual growth, as his dedication to his wife indicates:

> under the allegory of a Knight Errant's Adventures are indicated the Trials of Virtue, the Struggles and Conquest of Vice, preparatory to a happier state of existence; after the hero is exalted to the Spiritual World and blessed with celestial Union, he is then armed with the power of the elements for the exercise of his ministry in the dispensation of Providence, he becomes the Associate of Faith, Hope and Charity, and his Universal Benevolence is employed in the Acts of Mercy.[21]

The parallel between Flaxman's Knight and Bunyan's two pilgrims, Christian and Christiana is strengthened when one considers that Flaxman continued to work on illustrations for *Pilgrim's Progress* upon his return to England from Rome in 1794, and that he continued with these designs not because he intended to publish them, but because he continued to be fascinated by the project. The *Knight of the Blazing Cross* may have been begun while Flaxman was still illustrating Bunyan.[22] It is important, therefore, given the subject of *Knight of the Blazing Cross*, as well as the very personal importance that both this work and his drawings for *Pilgrim's Progress* held for Flaxman, to consider the two projects in relation to each other.

Like Flaxman's illustrations for Bunyan, *Knight of the Blazing Cross* diverges from traditional Christian pilgrimage allegories, for it reflects Flaxman's very personal beliefs, as well as the overall spirit of the late eighteenth century.[23]

In 1784, Flaxman joined the Theosophical Society, a group which concentrated on the writings of Swedenborg.[24] *Knight of the Blazing Cross* is directly related to Flaxman's Swedenborgian beliefs--a fact which was evident to some of Flaxman's contemporaries. This is clear from a letter in which Flaxman's friend, the Reverend John Clowes, a Swedenborgian himself, urged the artist to publish his allegory.[25] Swedenborg's tenets which are reflected most strongly in Flaxman's *Knight of the Blazing Cross* include a strong belief in the afterlife, as well as a belief in the importance of acts of Christian charity and good works.[26] And a further important Swedenborgian element, but this time one that does relate to traditional Christian allegories of pilgrimage, is the theory that everything in the physical world is symbolic of some aspect of the spiritual world.[27]

In Flaxman's allegory, unlike most pilgrimage literature, the story does not end when the Knight reaches heaven; rather, the spiritual growth of the protagonist continues through his good works. One of the Knight's duties in the afterlife is the instruction of children.[28] This reflects both Swedenborg's writings about children in heaven[29] and the contemporary interest in the education of children. The woman and child, through their vulnerability, also emphasize the omnipresence of danger from which they must be protected. This is particularly clear in Plate 19 (Plate 33) of *Knight of the Blazing Cross*, in which the Knight is defending a mother and her child from a dragon.

The following verse accompanies the plate:

> A Guardian Angel now
> Defends a Mother's helpless love
> And cradled innocence.[30]

These ideas were of a very personal importance to the artist; at the same time, however, they were closely tied to the early Romantic sensibility as a whole. Similarly, the theme of charity found in the latter half of Flaxman's *Knight of the Blazing Cross* also appears in a number of the artist's independent drawings. This theme reflects the artist's Swedenborgian ideas, but is also linked to a general late eighteenth century preoccupation with human charity. The theme is tied on the one hand to contemporary social issues[31] and, on the other, to the concept of universal justice.[32] The theme of charity also points to an idea which has already appeared in Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* and in other shipwreck scenes, that is, the ailing human condition and man's need for salvation.

An artist who was directly influenced by Flaxman was William Blake;[33] both artists shared an interest in a number of themes, including that of pilgrimage. Blake's series of twenty-eight watercolours for *Pilgrim's Progress* was executed in 1824. It is interesting to note, however, that Blake's earliest known design for Bunyan's work dates from 1794, the very period that Flaxman was working on his drawings for Bunyan.[34] Blake would likely have been aware of Flaxman's drawings, just as he undoubtedly was aware of Stothard's illustrations for *Pilgrim's Progress*. Stothard

and Blake also had in common the fact that they both designed compositions of the pilgrims in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*--a project, in fact, which led to the end of their friendship.[33] To Blake the Canterbury pilgrims represented "eternal principles or characters of human life".[34] This is also how he viewed the figures in his illustrations for *Pilgrim's Progress*.

In illustrating Bunyan, Blake unlike Stothard and Flaxman, does not concentrate on Christiana's adventures; in fact, he confines himself solely to the first part of *Pilgrim's Progress*. His designs indicate that he was thoroughly acquainted with traditional illustrations of Bunyan's text, and yet they are unmistakably Blakean in style and conception. It is revealing to compare the frontispiece designed by John Clark and engraved by J. Sturt in 1727-1728 (Plate 34) with that by Blake (Plate 35), working almost a century later. The early work has much in common with traditional seventeenth-century images of pilgrimage. Its symbolic details are simplified and emblematic. The path originating from the left of the picture, with the pilgrim ascending towards the distant gates of the Celestial City, is familiar. In the centre of the composition is the dreaming figure of John Bunyan. Below him is a skull and a lion in a den. Less traditional is Blake's work, which while similar to Clark's in the inclusion of the sleeping Bunyan and the lion, differs radically in almost every other respect. Blake's composition

is arranged horizontally, divided by an arc which separates the upper third of the work from the lower two-thirds. This division also separates reality--the lower parts of the composition containing Bunyan and the lion--from the dream world above. It is characteristic of Blake that he establishes the visionary, dreamlike quality of his series of drawings from the outset. While the pilgrim in Clark's design seems as much a part of the real world as Bunyan himself, Blake's Christian, who appears in a series of episodes above the sleeping Bunyan, belongs to a hazy world in which nothing seems clear or certain. This is Blake's dream world. Like other Romantic illustrations of Bunyan, Blake's designs reflect the artist's personal philosophical and stylistic concerns.

Blake's interest in depicting sublime images led him to focus on many of Christian's most dangerous and terrifying adventures. The horror involved in *Christian beaten down by Apollyon* (Plate 36), for example, is especially evident when it is compared to Clark's earlier design for the same episode (Plate 37).

Blake's watercolours for *Pilgrim's Progress* contain elements which recur throughout his artistic oeuvre. Images of confinement, for example, were often used by Blake. Here this type of imagery is seen most obviously in *The Man in the Iron Cage* (Plate 38) and in *Christian and Hopeful in Doubting Castle* (Plate 39). By dealing with confinement and captivity these images represent the antithesis of liberty.

Other artists working at this time also used images of captivity[37]--images which included cages, prisons or dungeons, and scenes of slavery. In Blake's illustrations to *Pilgrim's Progress* it is interesting to note that there is also one plate which depicts escape from captivity. This is the plate entitled *Christian and Hopeful escape from Doubting Castle* (Plate 40).

Blake concentrated on the visionary and sublime elements in *Pilgrim's Progress* and, in general, on the themes which appealed to him personally; nevertheless, his watercolours are clearly linked to Bunyan's narrative and to its earlier illustrations. Elsewhere in his oeuvre, however, Blake developed his own prophetic epic of pilgrimage, *Jerusalem: the Emanation of the Giant Albion* (1804-1815).

The attempt to arrive at the meaning of *Jerusalem* has caused much controversy and has generated numerous critical and at times highly imaginative, interpretations.[38] One pit into which critics have sometimes fallen is to attempt to assign a linear narrative structure to the work. While this is the traditional structure of the pilgrimage literature, it is typical that in structure, as in almost every other respect, Blake has deviated from tradition.

Jerusalem, based on the themes of fall, struggle and redemption,[39] does not follow the linear pattern set out in the Bible. As a recent Blake scholar, Minna Doskow, has pointed out, man falls and struggles not once but repeatedly, so that the possibility of redemption is present

throughout the poem.[40] It is typical of Blake, too, that he transforms the traditional notions of fall and redemption into his own symbols: the allegorical journey of pilgrimage is an internalized struggle for enlightenment, represented in images of sleep, passage and awakening.[41]

The question arises whether *Jerusalem* is indeed a poem of pilgrimage. The complex and convoluted plot[42] does not conform to earlier works such as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*; and if a journey can be spoken of at all, it must be in terms of a journey of the mind and spirit. Blake himself, however, makes clear from the outset that he considered the work to be related to the theme of pilgrimage. His frontispiece for *Jerusalem* (Plate 41) represents Los, the eternal pilgrim, entering "The Door of Death". Los' mission in *Jerusalem* is to assist Albion in his awakening. In his hand Los holds a light, which in form echoes his pilgrim's hat; this light is symbolic of imagination and enlightenment.[43] The gate, in this case a gothic arch, is an image which appears in a number of Blake's works,[44] including an illustration for *Pilgrim's Progress* (Plate 42) which depicts Christian being received by Goodwill. There is an interesting similarity between this plate and the plate which illustrates the climax of *Jerusalem*, that is *The Soul Reunited with God* (Plate 43). These illustrations may in fact be related to traditional Christian imagery of the Prodigal Son.[45] Not only are the pictorial similarities significant, but the story of a

sinning son being forgiven and accepted by his father is appropriate to the content of Blake's illustrations.

Another feature which Blake shares with earlier writers of pilgrimage literature is his intention that *Jerusalem* be a poem which will serve to enlighten the reader. Blake describes his "great task" in writing *Jerusalem*:

> To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the immortal eyes
> Of man inwards into the Worlds of Thought: into Eternity
> Ever expanding in the Bosom of God, the Human Imagination.[45]

Again, the notion of internalization arises. This is related to one of the interests which was central to the Romantic period: the fascination with the human mind and imagination.[46]

As in Blake's earlier images of slavery and women in *Visions of the Daughter's of Albion*, his symbols in *Jerusalem* are complex and often shifting. The giant Albion, for example, sometimes seems human and represents Everyman, but sometimes he is land and represents England, or even all countries.[47] His struggles are primarily spiritual, but also philosophical and political.[48]

Blake, then, like Flaxman, turned to the theme of pilgrimage to explore ideas which were universal as well as those which were modern. The images of pilgrimage of Stothard, Flaxman and Blake are all related to the literary allegories which they illustrated. However, the theme of pilgrimage also appears in art independent of direct literary ties, most notably in the paintings of the German

artist, Friedrich.

Friedrich was only one of many German writers and artists of the Romantic period in whose works the desire for travel found an expression.[50] In many cases these works were related to the theme of pilgrimage, although often abstractly. References to both travel and spirituality are often suggested rather than stated directly, sometimes by means of the image of the open window.

In art, the open window is a motif which expresses the idea of yearning, with travel and spirituality implied.[51] This motif was used by German and non-German Romantic artists alike;[52] in the first decades of the nineteenth century, however, the motif appeared particularly frequently in the art of Germany and Scandinavia.[53]

In Friedrich's *Woman at the Window* (Plate 44) of 1822, the figure of a woman, her back towards the viewer, is leaning out a window, gazing at a scene which remains largely unknown to the viewer. The enigmatic quality of the painting leads one to examine it more closely for clues to its meaning. Visible through the window are the masts of ships. The woman seems to be longing for travel, or perhaps she is awaiting the return of a loved one. By placing her with her back toward the picture plane, the artist invites the viewer to identify with her closely. The symmetrically balanced composition creates a mood of quiet contemplation. This, and the cross created by the window frame above the woman's head, evokes a strong feeling of spirituality. The

ship's masts may here represent actual travel, or they may be intended as symbols of a spiritual journey. The one level of meaning, however, does not preclude the other, and as often occurs in the Romantic search for meaningful content in art, the result is an image with layers of meaning.

As has been seen in the works of Flaxman and Blake, the content of pilgrimage imagery is frequently related to modern issues. Friedrich's *Woman at the Window* is no exception to this. It is closely related to images of confinement, captivity, and escape from captivity which were employed by Blake in his images of pilgrimage. This imagery is clearly tied to the Romantic preoccupation with freedom and, correspondingly, to the abhorrence of the denial of freedom. *Woman at the Window* conveys the feeling of longing for escape. The window is at once a barrier and a threshold to the external world.[54] The fact that the figure at the window is a woman is significant, for the position of woman--bound to the home, to her husband, to her children--is one that emphasizes the longing for escape and freedom implicit in this work.[55]

The longing for travel as well as the spiritual content in *Woman at the Window* are implied rather than stated overtly. Considered together, these two elements connect this work to the broad theme of human pilgrimage. Other works, however, are tied more obviously to the theme of pilgrimage.

In Friedrich's *Winter Landscape with Church* (Plate 45) of c.1811, the subject is a pilgrim who, having arrived at a Christian shrine, has been cured of his lameness and has cast his crutches aside. The crucifix here is a man-made symbol of Christianity. The supernatural, however, is suggested by the façade of a Gothic church which emerges like a ghostly vision from the mist and, more openly, by the miracle of the pilgrim whose lameness is cured. In Friedrich's work, the supernatural is often embodied in a symbolic feature of the landscape, such as rays of light, the sea or the moon; accordingly, in *Winter Landscape with Church*, the winter landscape may represent death, and the shrine and church may be symbols of life after death.

The shrine with a man-made cross in a landscape setting is a symbol of pilgrimage which Friedrich uses in many of his works. In the *Tetschen Altar* of 1808, in *Cross in the Forest* of c.1813, and in *The Cross on Rügen* of 1815, there are no human figures. However, in other works, such as *Winter Landscape with a Church* and *Morning in the Riesengebirge* (Plate 46) done in 1811, small figures are included.[54] In *Morning in the Riesengebirge*, the "pilgrims" are a woman leading a man up to a cross which is set at the top of the rocky summit of a mountain peak. As in traditional images of pilgrimage, the path which the two travellers must take is not an easy one.

Paintings of pilgrimage which feature a shrine as the pilgrim's spiritual destination have a more abstract

thematic parallel in Friedrich's oeuvre. Sometimes the "pilgrim" is portrayed as having come to a spiritual destination which is symbolized by some aspect of nature. This seems to be the case in *Monk by the Sea* of 1809, as well as in *The Wanderer Above the Mists* and *Woman in Morning Light*, both of c.1818. The earliest of these three is perhaps the most remarkable of all Friedrich's paintings.

Monk by the Sea (Plate 47) has long puzzled critics and art historians. Friedrich's friend and follower K.G. Carus, whose views on landscape painting reflect the influence of Schelling's philosophy,[37] wrote the following in his letters on landscape:

> When man, sensing the immense magnificence of nature, feels his own insignificance, and, feeling himself to be in God, enters into this infinity and abandons his individual existence, then his surrender is gain rather than loss. What otherwise only the mind's eye sees, here becomes almost literally visible: the oneness in the infinity of the universe.... [38]

Although Carus was not writing about this work specifically, but rather expressing general ideas about man's perception of spirituality within landscape, his words are particularly meaningful in relation to *Monk by the Sea*.

As in *Morning in the Riesengebirge*, in *Monk by the Sea* the enormous expanse of the natural view dominates the painting, dwarfing the diminutive human element. The sublime awe inspired by the vastness of the natural setting had never before been more emphatically depicted.[39]

The stark composition of *Monk by the Sea* puzzled those who saw it exhibited in Berlin in 1810.[40] However, the

radically spare composition was not the only aspect of the work which was questioned. The content also presented a mystery. As in many of Friedrich's symbolic works, the meaning is not stated outrightly. In examining the content of *Monk by the Sea*, it is helpful to consider the interpretation of Friedrich's friend, Heinrich Kleist. Kleist, when viewing the work, felt himself assume the position of the monk in the painting; that which confronted him was not the sea, but rather the "realm of death".[1] Belonging to Friedrich's circle of friends, Kleist was in a position to understand the deep spirituality of Friedrich's works, as well as the artist's religious and philosophical probings into the theme of death--a fascination on Friedrich's part which was almost an obsession.

The monk in the painting has come to a spiritual destination, a point of revelation. The existential isolation of this figure is poignantly underlined, and the work remains endlessly evocative.

Friedrich, like other Romantic artists who turned to images of pilgrimage, transformed the traditional iconography of this theme to express and explore his own personal beliefs. At times he incorporated traditional symbols into his own art; at other times he departed from these symbols completely, creating his own iconography which reflects the belief, shared by a number of his contemporaries, that spirituality is to be found in nature. The recurrence within his works of travellers, gates and

doorways, paths and points of spiritual destination, all point to the artist's concern with the spiritual journey of life.

Conclusion

Themes related to journey and pilgrimage are among the most important subjects used by the Romantics--important in terms of the frequency with which they appear in the art of the period, but also important in view of the kinds of ideas they embody.

Actual travel affected the manner in which artists approached the subject. The interest in travel during the Romantic period was in part due to a general and increasing scientific curiosity, stemming from the Enlightenment, which called for a close examination of all natural phenomena. Writers and artists frequently undertook expeditions in order to experience and record new environments; the result of this was that a great wave of travel literature, often extensively illustrated, reached the market. Through these works, even those who were unable to travel themselves were exposed to illustrations and accounts of the journeys undertaken by others.

While scientific curiosity was one factor which motivated artists to choose images of travel, other factors were also significant. One of these was the utopian quest for the ideal society. This quest led to an increased interest in foreign lands. It was also symptomatic of a general feeling of dissatisfaction with one's own personal situation and of a general longing for escape. This feeling of discontent, which was reflected in much of the art and writing of the period, was poignantly expressed in images of

travel. The journey as a means of escape, and as a means of seeking answers to one's most pressing questions, was a recurring theme in Romantic art. In this context, it becomes clear that these artistic images were closely related, not just to the artist's personal situation, but also to the general attitudes and issues of the day.

Another important component of travel imagery is a pervasive spirit of excitement and adventure. Much of this imagery satisfies requirements for the Romantic sublime as set out by Edmund Burke. Sublime scenes are often based on an artist's careful observation of literal reality; however, these images also transcend this level of reality and focus on the power of the sublime to stir the emotions deeply or to lift the soul. In addition to emphasizing the sublime, the artists often gave the travel images a specific symbolic content. Turner's *Messieurs les Voyageurs*, for example, is based on a travel experience of the artist; yet it is also clearly sublime in mood, and, on a symbolic level, it underlines man's insignificance in the face of nature.

The ideological uncertainties of the Romantic period emerged repeatedly in images of travel. The metaphor of the ship at sea--whether drifting aimlessly, battling an uncertain course through stormy waters, or foundering in a disastrous image of shipwreck--was complex and shifting in meaning. Often this ship was intended as an image of contemporary society. Edmund Burke, in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, employed the metaphor of the ship

to represent the confusion of post-revolutionary European society:

> when ancient opinions and rules of life are taken away, the loss cannot possibly be estimated. From that moment we have no compass to govern us; nor can we know distinctly to what port we steer".[1]

At times Romantic images of ships at sea had obvious political implications: Géricault's *Raft*, for example, was the cause of embarassment to the French government, and was described by Michelet in 1848 as representing the French nation drifting towards the darkness of political reaction.[2] While an indictment of the political situation in France was by no means Géricault's sole concern in this work, it undeniably plays a part in the painting's overall meaning. As so often is the case in Romantic images of travel, the metaphorical significance has artistic antecedents in traditional iconography. The political interpretation of Géricault's *Raft*, for example, has artistic antecedents in the traditional "ship of state".

Géricault, like other Romantic artists who turned in their art to images of ships at sea and shipwreck, was concerned with broader, humanitarian themes as well. A subject which recurs in many of these works is the black man--a direct reference to the slave-trade. Not only was slavery a topic of political debate during the Romantic period, but it was also a subject which reflects an increased interest in social reform based on humanitarian concerns. Furthermore, it was related to the Romantic preoccupation with themes of liberty as explored through

antithetical images of human bondage and confinement.

Images of shipwreck, or those involving the victims of shipwreck, deal with the theme of abandonment--man abandoned by God or by Fortune. In the case of man abandoned by Fortune, there is again an artistic tradition which connects Fortune with images of ships; and in the case of man abandoned by God, there is an artistic antecedent in the subject of the Deluge. The symbolism in images of shipwreck is therefore universal in scope, exploring and questioning the very meaning of man's existence, commenting on the perilous state of the human condition, and underlining man's need for salvation.

The shipwreck, while representing broad philosophical probings of the period, was also sometimes chosen by an artist as a very personal symbol representing his own situation. For example, a sense of existential isolation and abandonment characterizes Friedrich's images of shipwreck.

Images of the ship presented the Romantics with a means of exploring abstract ideas. While these images often had a basis in traditional iconography, they were "modernized" in two important ways. First, they were seldom purely symbolic in content, but in most cases were closely tied to literal, and often identifiable, contemporary reality. Second, they generally lacked the established beliefs or didacticism often present in earlier imagery; rather , they were very personal in nature, reflecting the artists' own beliefs as well as the questioning spirit of the period.

Themes of pilgrimage were often very closely related to images of ships at sea. The notion of undertaking a journey in order to arrive at a spiritual destination, or to achieve some form of enlightenment, was an important concept to the Romantics. Images of pilgrimage, similar to symbolic marine images, were at once closely tied to the iconography of the past and yet divergent from this iconography in the ideas represented. Romantics such as Flaxman and Blake, for example, both executed a series of illustrations for Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, indicating a knowledge of and interest in this seventeenth-century work; and yet the illustrations done by these artists, and more importantly, their own illustrated writings of pilgrimage, are very personal reflections of their spiritual beliefs.

In some cases images of pilgrimage were tied to an ill-defined but extremely strong emotional yearning for travel or escape. Friedrich's painting of a woman gazing through an open window at a harbour is evocative rather than explicit in its meaning. The painting presents an image of longing and of melancholy; a spiritual journey is implied.

In Friedrich's works of pilgrimage, recognizable religious symbols, such as a cross or an anchor, are often present. The journey of life may be implied by a snowy path disappearing through a dark forest--the path being a subtle connection with past iconography. But in some works all ties with past symbols are gone. In Friedrich's *Monk by the Sea*, for example, the content is spiritual and yet there are no

obvious symbols. Religious revelation is present here in the form of the endless expanse of sea. Man is confronting death, infinity, God; the image is radically modern in its open-endedness. Echoing the current ideas of nature-philosophy, landscape itself embodies spiritual meaning; traditional symbols are, therefore, no longer necessary.

Symbolic images of travel did not, of course, cease to exist after 1840. Daumier's Don Quixote series, his interest in the theme of travelling mountebanks, as well as his *Third Class Carriage*, all carry on this tradition. In these works Daumier, too, turned to images of travel in order to convey ideas which were at once contemporary and universal in scope. Further examples of the continuation of this tradition in the nineteenth century include Turner's interest in the train as a motif in art and Courbet's use of the theme of the wandering Jew in *The Meeting*.

Travel is a state of flux, of transit; it embraces the notion of change accompanied by uncertainty. This theme in art provided the Romantics with a means of attempting to come to terms with the world in which they lived and with human existence itself; diverse and at times paradoxical ideas, ranging from hope to despair, are presented. Romantic travel images, therefore, embody man's eternal quest for knowledge and understanding of himself, and the most crucial ideas of the period--both personal and collective--appear in these works.

Plates

Plate 1. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Bonaparte Visiting the Pest-House at Jaffa*, 1804. Oil paint. The Louvre.

Plate 2. William Blake, *A Negro Hung Alive by the Ribs to a Gallows*, c. 1791-1795. Engraving. Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

Plate 3. William Blake, *Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave*, c. 1791-1795. Engraving. Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

Plate 4. William Blake, *Europe Supported by Africa and America*, c. 1791-1795. Engraving. Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

Plate 5. Joseph Mallord Turner, *Messieurs les Voyageurs (...) in a Snowdrift on Mount Tarrar--22nd of January, 1829*, 1829. Watercolour. British Museum, London.

Plate 6. John Martin, *The Bard*, 1817. Oil paint. Laing Art Gallery and Museum, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Plate 7. Joseph Mallord Turner, *The Fall of the Avalanche in the Grisons (Cottage Destroyed by an Avalanche)*, 1810. Oil paint. Tate Gallery, London.

Plate 8. Claude Joseph Vernet, *Storm of the Coast*, 1773. Oil paint. Private Collection.

Plate 9. Philip de Loutherbourg, *Survivors of a Shipwreck attacked by Robbers*, 1793. Oil paint. Southampton Art Gallery.

Plate 10. George Morland, *Shipwreck*, undated. Oil paint. Private Collection.

Plate 11. Joseph Mallord Turner, *Fishermen at Sea*, 1796. Oil paint. Tate Gallery, London.

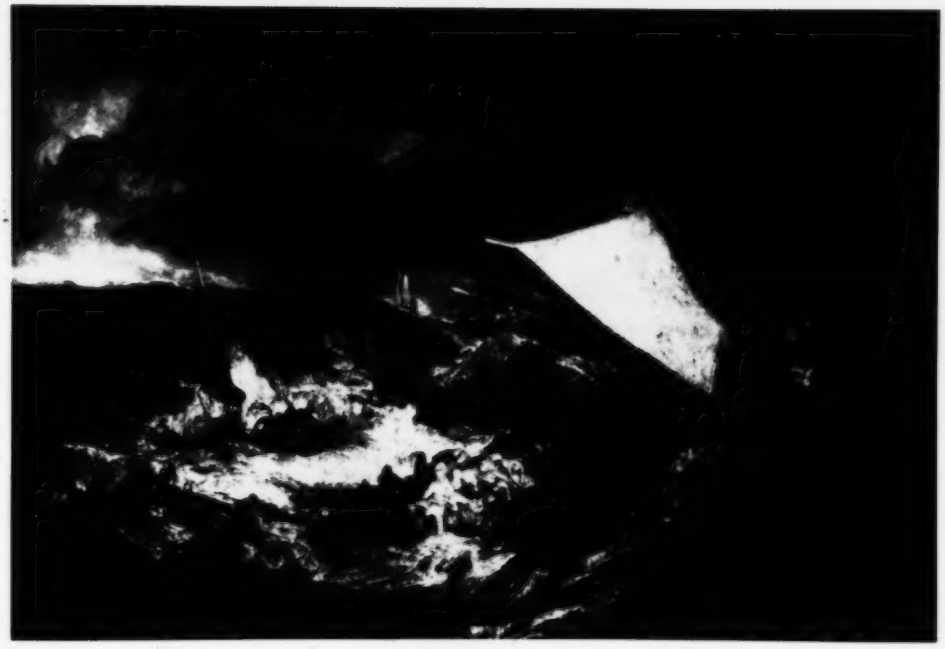

Plate 12. Joseph Mallord Turner, *The Shipwreck: Fishing Boats Endeavouring to Rescue the Crew*, 1805. Oil paint. Tate Gallery, London.

Plate 13. Joseph Mallord Turner, *Wreck of a Transport Ship*, c. 1810. Oil paint. Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

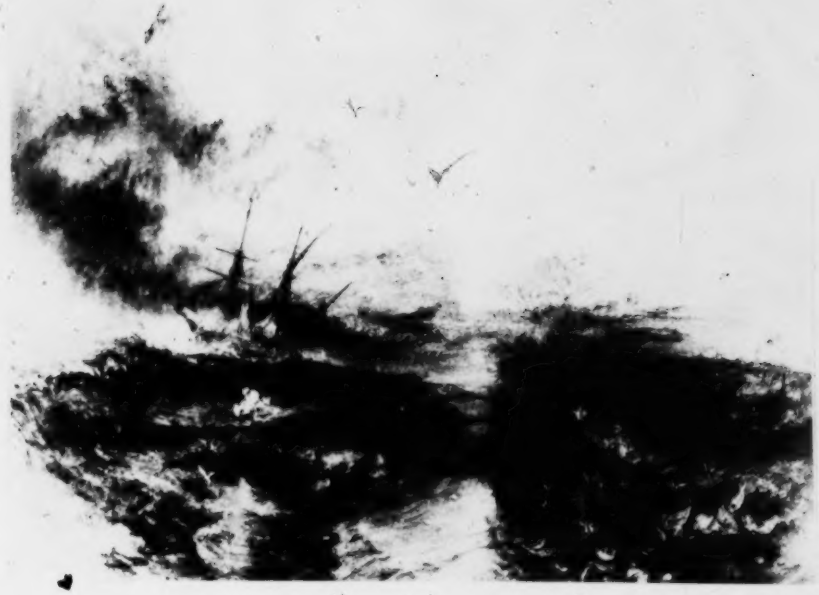

Plate 14. Joseph Mallord Turner, *Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying--Typhoon Coming On*, 1840. Oil paint. Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Plate 15. Joseph Mallord Turner, *The Fighting Téméraire Tugged to Her Last Berth to be Broken Up*, 1838. Oil paint. National Gallery, London.

Plate 16. Joseph Mallord Turner, *Burial at Sea*, 1842. Oil paint. Tate Gallery, London.

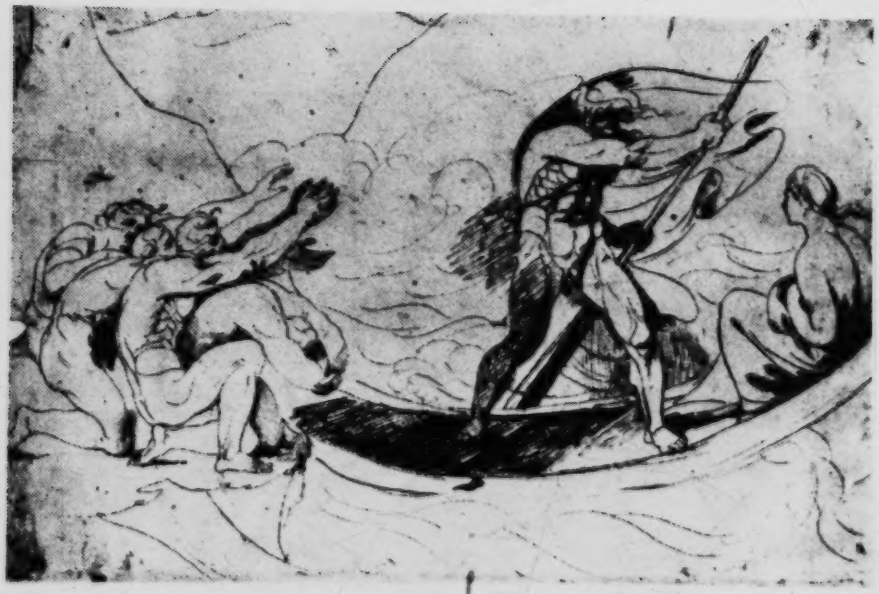

Plate 17. George Romney, *Psyche Being Rowed Across the Styx*, 1776-1778. Pen with ink (traces of pencil). Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Plate 18. John Flaxman, *Barque of Charon*, 1807. Engraving. Private Collection.

Plate 19. Eugène Delacroix, *Barque of Dante*, 1822. Oil paint. The Louvre.

Plate 20. Théodore Géricault, *Raft of the Medusa*, 1818-1819. Oil paint. The Louvre.

Plate 21. *Study of Severed Heads of a Man and Woman*, c. 1819. Oil paint. National Museum, Stockholm.

Plate 22. Théodore Géricault, *Déluge*, 1815-1816. Oil paint. The Louvre.

Plate 23. William Blake after an oil painting by George Romney, *Woltemad Rescuing the Shipwrecked off the Cape of Good Hope*, 1809. Engraving. Private Collection.

Plate 24. Caspar David Friedrich, *Mist*, 1807. Oil paint. Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna.

Plate 25. Caspar David Friedrich, *Cross on Rügen*, 1815. Oil paint. Sammlung Georg Schäfer, Schweinfurt.

Plate 26. Caspar David Friedrich, *Ship on High Seas in Full Sail*, c. 1816. Oil paint. Karl-Marx-Stadt, Stadtische Kunstsammlungen.

Plate 27. Caspar David Friedrich, *On the Sailing Ship*, 1818. Oil paint. State Hermitage, Leningrad.

Plate 28. Caspar David Friedrich, *Stages of Life*, after 1818. Oil paint. Museum of Fine Arts, Leipzig.

Plate 29. Caspar David Friedrich, *The Polar Sea*, 1824. Oil paint. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

Plate 30. Thomas Stothard, Illustration for *Pilgrim's Progress*, c. 1780-1790. Pen and ink (with chalk and wash). Private Collection.

Plate 31. John Flaxman, Illustration for *Pilgrim's Progress*, c. 1792. Pen and ink. Folkestone Public Library and Museum.

Plate 32. John Flaxman, *Christiana and Knight*, c. 1792. Pen and ink. Collection Mr. Christopher Powney.

Plate 33. John Flaxman, Plate 19, *Knight of the Blazing Cross*, 1796. Drawing. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Plate 34. Designed by John Clark, engraved by J. Sturt, frontispiece, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1727-1728. Engraving. Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

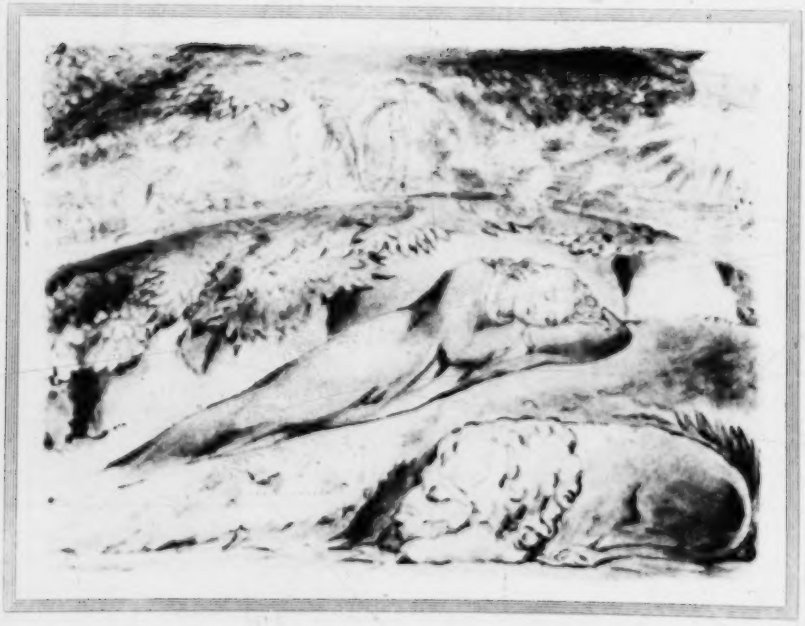

Plate 35. William Blake, frontispiece, *Pilgrim's Progress*, c. 1824. Watercolour. Frick Collection, New York.

Plate 36. William Blake, *Christian Beaten Down by Apollyon*, c. 1824. Watercolour. Frick Collection, New York.

Plate 37. Designed by John Clark, engraved by J. Sturt, *Christian Beaten Down by Apollyon*, 1727-1728. Engraving. Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

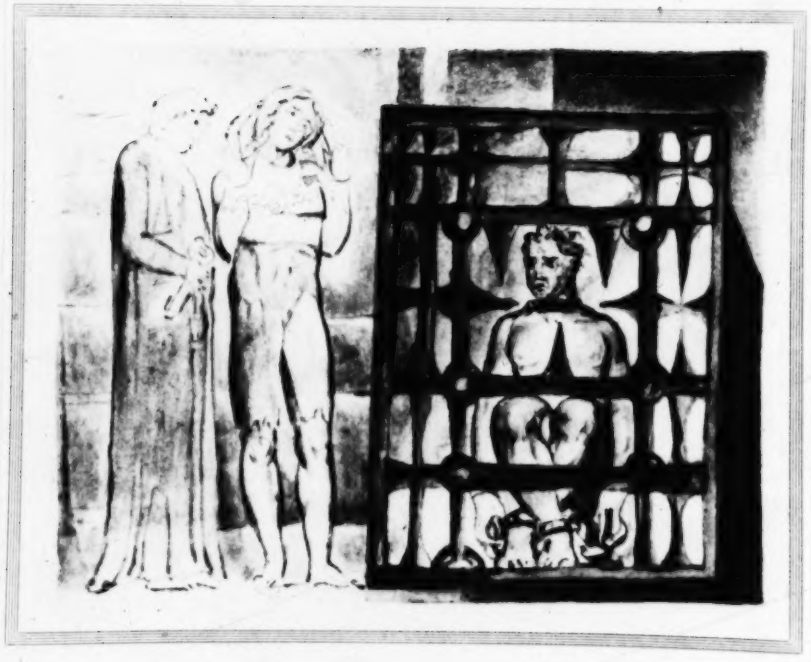

Plate 38. William Blake, *The Man in the Iron Cage*, 1824. Watercolour. Frick Collection, New York.

Plate 39. William Blake, *Christian and Hopeful in Doubting Castle*, 1824. Watercolour. Frick Collection, New York.

Plate 40. William Blake, *Christian and Hopeful Escape from Doubting Castle*, 1824. Watercolour. Frick Collection, New York.

Plate 41. William Blake, Frontispiece, *Jerusalem*, 1804-1815. Engraving and watercolour. Collection of Col. William Stirling of Keir.

Plate 42. William Blake, *The Gate is Opened by Goodwill, Pilgrim's Progress*, 1824. Watercolour. Frick Collection, New York.

Plate 43. William Blake, *The Soul Reunited with God, Jerusalem*, 1804-1815. Engraving and watercolour. Collection of Col. William Stirling of Keir.

Plate 44. Caspar David Friedrich, *Woman at the Window*, 1822. Oil paint. National Gallery, West Berlin.

Plate 45. Caspar David Friedrich, *Winter Landscape with Church*, c. 1811. Oil paint. Museum of Art and Culture, Cappenburg Castle, Dortmund.

Plate 46. Caspar David Friedrich, *Morning in the Riesingebirge*, 1811. Oil paint. Schloss Charlottenburg, West Berlin.

Plate 47. Caspar David Friedrich, *Monk by the Sea*, 1809. Oil paint. Schloss Charlottenburg, West Berlin.

Footnotes

Introduction

1. Samuel Chew, ed., *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1936), Canto 3, LXX, verses 666-670, p. 110.

Chapter One

1. For a thorough examination of illustrated travel accounts, see Barbara Maria Stafford's *Voyage into Substance. Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1984). Further discussions of travel literature are provided in the following three works: Percy G. Adam, *Travellers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962); Charles L. Batten Jr., *Pleasureable Instruction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Philip Babcock Gove, *The Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction* (London: The Holland Press, 1961).

2. Geoffrey Trease, *The Grand Tour* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 2.

3. Trease, p. 179.

4. This is discussed by Pevsner in Chapter IV of his *Academies of Art* (1940; rpt., New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), pp. 140-189.

5. It should also be noted that a sojourn in Italy was considered by some artists, such as the Nazarenes, as a spiritual pilgrimage, in addition to providing an opportunity to develop artistically.

6. Cozens had travelled on the continent with Richard Payne Knight whose theories on the picturesque in landscape were widely known among the British (J. Cummings and A. Staley, *Romantic Art in Britain*, Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1968, p. 25).

7. Cummings and Staley, p. 32.

8. The "more ordinary", here refers, as Trease indicates, to "anyone with a certain amount of money to spend", and particularly to British travellers (Trease, p.194). The phrase should be further qualified by noting that very few women undertook the grand tour (Trease, p. 191).

9. One popular guide book was *The Grand Tour containing an Exact Description of most of the Cities, Towns and Remarkable Places of Europe by Mr. [Thomas] Nugent*, which was originally published in 1743. This and other guide books are discussed by Chrisopher Hibbert in *The Grand Tour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p. 16.

10. Some examples of these early visual travel images are reproduced in Barbara Maria Stafford's article "Rude Sublime: the Taste for Nature's Colossi During the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries" (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, April, 1976, pp. 113-126), and in the same author's *Voyage into Substance*.

11. Stafford, "Rude Sublime...", p. 116. Another reflection of this widespread interest in travel which had infected Europe was the production of engraved maps. For a discussion of this see Glyndwir Williams' *The Expansion of Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Walker and Company, 1967), p. 102.

12. As Glyndwir Williams points out "Missionary zeal, intellectual curiosity and flight from persecution all played a part; but none was as universal a force as the hope of profit and better standards of living" (Williams, p. 5.).

13. Williams, p. 187.

14. These categories are based on Adams' discussion in *Travellers and Travel Liars*, pp. 1-18.

15. For a full discussion of the rise of Utopian thought in the eighteenth century, see Rudolf Zeitler's *Klassizismus und Utopia* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1954).

16. Benjamin West, Joseph Wright of Derby and Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson are among the artists who used the motif of "the Noble Savage" in their art.

17. Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1960), p. 87.

18. As quoted from David Chandler's *Napoleon* (London: Weidon and Nicholson, 1973) pp. 41,42.

19. Wright, p. 88.

20. Kenneth Clark, *The Romantic Rebellion* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 177.

21. The setting has been changed in order to create a more

dramatic interior as well as to include a view of the oriental setting in the background. In actual fact, the sick were being nursed in a Greek convent which had been converted into a hospital (Walter Friedlaender, "Napoleon as 'Roi Thaumaturge'", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, vol. 3-4, 1939-1940), p. 139.

22. Walter Friedlaender, "Napoleon as 'Roi Thaumaturge'", p. 140. According to Friedlaender, the physician in charge, Desgenettes, had assured Bonaparte that he was at little risk.

23. Friedlaender, "Napoleon as 'Roi Thaumaturge'", p. 140.

24. Walter Friedlaender, *David to Delacroix* (1952; rpt., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 60.

25. The other engravers were Barlow, Bartolozzi, Benedetti, Conder, Holloway, Perry and Smith (Geoffrey Keynes, *Blake Studies: Essays on His Life and Work*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 100.

26. Keynes, *Blake Studies*, p. 100.

27. Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition*, v. 2, (London: Johnson, 1796), p. iv.

28. D. Erdman, "Blake's Vision of Slavery", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 15-16, 1952-1953, p. 243.

29. *William Blake in the Art of his Time* (California: University of California, Santa Barbara, 1976), p. 27.

30. Erdman, "Blake's Vision of Slavery", p. 246.

31. D. Erdman, *Blake: Prophet Against Empire: a Poet's Interpretation of the History of His Own Times* (1954; revised edition. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 231.

32. Stedman, v. 2, pp. 394,395.

33. Wedgewood, for example, produced a cameo depicting a black slave, and the poet William Cowper wrote a number of poems on the theme of the slave trade, including a street ballad entitled "The Negroes Complaint" (Erdman, *Blake: Prophet Against Empire*, p. 239), which was illustrated by Fuseli (Marcia Pointon, *Milton and English Art*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 114.

34. In Germany, for example, the historian August Ludwig von Schlözer wrote *Neujahrs-Geschenk aus Jamaika* (1780), in

which he expressed his horror at seeing human beings sold as slaves at the market (Gay, Peter ed., *The Enlightenment. A Comprehensive Anthology*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973).

35. As Lorenz Eitner stated in "Cages, Prisons and Captives in Eighteenth Century Art", freedom is an abstract concept which is difficult to depict in art, and which "needs the contrast of constraint or captivity to make it vividly apparent" (in *Images of Romanticism: Verbal and Visual Affinities* , K. Kroeber and W. Walling, ed., New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 14.

36. From *The Connoisseur* of 1719 in Richardson's *Two Discourses* (1719; new edition, Menston, England: The Scolar Press, 1972), p. 35.

37. Pointon, p. 90.

38. E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1759; new edition, Menston, England: The Scolar Press Ltd, 1970).

39. ibid, p. 96.

40. ibid, pp. 95,96.

41. ibid, p. 127.

42. G. Finley, *Landscapes of Memory: Turner as Illustrator to Scott* (London: The Scolar Press, 1980), p. 21.

43. ibid. The two works I am referring to are: William Gilpin's, *Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the year 1772, in several parts of England, particularly the mountains and lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (2 volumes, London, 1786), and the same author's *Observations relative to Picturesque Beauty, made in the year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain; particularly the Highlands of Scotland* (2 volumes, London: R. Blamire, 1789).

44. As quoted by John Gage in *Turner: Rain, Steam and Speed* (London: Penguin Press, 1972), p. 40.

45. Another work of Turner's which is very similar in mood and conception is the watercolour *Snowstorm, Mont Cenis* (Birmingham City Art Gallery); this work was inspired by Turner's experiences on his Italian tour of 1819-1820.

46. The interest in the Alps was common among Romantic landscape painters; however it was by no means limited to artists. Mountain scenery also inspired Romantic

writers and poets. This vogue may have resulted partly from the writings of Rousseau who highly praised the scenery of the Alps, in his *La Nouvelle Héloise* (Alfred Biere, *The Development of the Feeling of Nature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times*, New York: Burt Franklin, 1905).

47. Martin's composition is closely based on a painting of "The Bard" done by Richard Corbould in 1807 (see Hugh Honour, *Romanticism*, London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979, p. 378). Other artists who illustrated this poem include de Loutherbourg, Fuseli and Blake. For a discussion of Martin's painting *The Bard*, see William Feaver, *The Art of John Martin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 29-32.

48. While all greatness of dimension is "a powerful cause of the sublime", Burke suggests that "we are more struck at looking down from a precipice, than at looking up at an object of equal height ..." (Burke, p. 72).

49. *Kant's Critique of Judgement*, ed. J.C. Meredith, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), pp. 110,111.

Chapter Two

1. For a discussion of the history of marine painting see William Gaunt's *Marine Painting: A Historical Survey* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1975).

2. David Cordingly, *Marine Painting in England 1700-1900* (London: Studio Vista, 1974), p. 96.

3. As cited from John Graham Dalyell's *Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea* (Edinburgh, 1812), by T.S.R. Boase, "Shipwrecks in English Romantic Painting", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 21-22, 1959, p. 332.

4. Boase, p. 332.

5. Boase, p. 334.

6. Boase, p. 335. Years later Turner was to do the same thing (Kenneth Clark, p. 243).

7. For a discussion of the realism and the sublime qualities in Vernet's work, see Andrew Wilton's *Turner and the Sublime* (1980, rpt., London: Phoenix edition, 1981), p. 39.

8. Boase, p. 335.

9. De Loutherbourg also used many marine scenes in his Eidophusikon, a moving panorama of images.

10. Andrew Wilton and John Russell, *Turner in Switzerland* (Zurich: De Clivo Press, 1976), p. 130.

11. Gaunt, p. 109.

12. Wilton, *Turner and the Sublime*, p. 37.

13. ibid., p. 39.

14. Turner knew a number of poets personally, including Rogers, Campbell, Scott and Byron (Jack Lindsay, *The Sunset Ship: The Poems of J.M.W. Turner*, London: Scorpion Press, 1966, pp. 11,12). Thomas Campbell, whose work Turner illustrated, seems to have influenced Turner in particular. (Lindsay, p. 44). Campbell's "The Pleasures of Hope", published in 1799, is echoed, with a shift in mood from positive to negative, in Turner's own unfinished poem "The Fallacies of Hope".

15. The influence Thomson and Falconer had on Romantic paintings of shipwreck is discussed by George P. Landow, in "Shipwrecked and Castaway on the Journey of Life: an Essay towards a modern Iconography", *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 46, Oct.-Dec. 1972, p. 580. Landow has also noted that these two poems fall within the tradition of Christian imagery in which the shipwreck is employed to symbolize God's punishment of man; in the case of these two poems, the punishment was for the greed of the merchants (Landow, p. 580).

16. Landow, p. 11. Thomson's influence on Turner appears not only in marine subjects. Turner's painting of 1810 depicting an avalanche in Grisons, for example, is likely related to lines from Thomson's "Winter" (Lindsay, p. 21).

17. Thomson believed the beauty and grandeur of nature to be a glorification of God (Russell Noyes, ed., *English Romantic Poetry and Prose*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, p. 4).

18. Lindsay, p. 11.

19. ibid, p. 19.

20. ibid.

21. As quoted from Thomson's "Summer", in *The Seasons* (1730; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 105.

22. William Falconer, *The Shipwreck, a Poem*. 1762; rpt. Edinburgh: J. Ballantyne and Co., 1807, pp. 137-138.

23. Boase, p. 335 (Pocock was a founding member of the Water-colour Society in Britain).

24. Lindsay, p. 21.

25. Lindsay, p. 22. Lindsay describes the evocative use of light effects in combination with the image of a ship; this was not only used by Romantic poets, but also by novelists. He notes, for example, that "it is a law of the Gothic Novel that every moment of emotional crisis, especially those of fear, danger, foreboding, are linked with a centralized light effect, a light-burst" (Lindsay, p. 29).

26. S.T. Coleridge, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*(1797), in Noyes' *English Romantic Poetry and Prose*, p. 395.

27. ibid.

28. Lindsay, p. 23. Originating in folklore, for example, is the famous legend of the Flying Dutchman; this spectre-ship too, according to usual accounts, appears with a glowing, mysterious light. The archetypal image of the spectre-ship also appears with numerous variations, in many folklore traditions, including British, Swedish, Danish, Frisian, Norman and German folklore. As in Coleridge's poem, many of these ships are at once phantom-ship and death-ship. See Fletcher S. Bassett's Chapter 10, "The Phantom Ship", in *Legends and Superstitions of the Sea and of Sailors* (1885; rpt., Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1971) for a discussion of the folklore surrounding the spectre-ship.

29. Lindsay, p. 23.

30. As quoted by Lindsay, p. 23.

31. Lindsay, p. 20.

32. From James Thomson's "Summer" in *The Seasons*, p. 106.

33. Lindsay, p. 51.

34. ibid.

35. For a thorough discussion of the theme of hope in Turner's marine works, as well as in British poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Lindsay's introductory essay, pp. 1-75.

36. Two important and influential works from Classical times

which centre on the theme of the sea voyage are *The Odyssey* and *The Aeneid*. Both are epic tales of adventure at sea which may be interpreted as metaphors of man's journey through life. It is interesting to note that both Homer and Vergil included views of the afterlife in these works.

37. From a psychological point of view, according to Jungian theories of archetypal imagery, ships and other subjects concerning the sea may also be considered to belong to that part of the human mind known as the collective unconscious (Carl Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959). This idea is convincing when one begins to realize how universal the symbolism of the boat at sea in fact is.

38. From Vergil's *Aeneid*, as quoted by Mark Morford and Robert Lenardon in *Classical Mythology* (1977; second edition, New York: Longman, 1971), p. 255.

39. Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 153.

40. G.R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Mediaeval England: a Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People* (1933; rpt., Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), p. 72.

41. The ship also appears as an attribute for the personifications of *Confidenza* and *Fortuna* (Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et Symboles Dans l'Art Profane, 1450-1600* Geneva: E. Droz, 1958, pp. 282-283). Plate LXIII of Jean Cousin's *The Book of Fortune* is one example in which a scene of a shipwreck illustrates "those afflicted by the spite of Fortune and willingly abandoned" (Jean Cousin, *The Book of Fortune*, Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1883, p. 26).

42. This emblem book was first published in 1593, but it was printed well into the second half of the eighteenth century (Cesare Ripa, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery*, trans., Edward Maser, New York: Dover Publications, 1971).

43. Ripa, p. 175. The anchor is also an attribute of Christ, the embodiment of Christian hope.

44. Another traditional symbolic use of the ship is that of the ship or boat as a symbol of eroticism and earthly love. This is evident in Watteau's *Pilgrimage to Cythera*. For a discussion of this tradition and its occurrence in Dutch emblem literature of the seventeenth century, see Christine Schloss' *Travel, Trade and Temptation: the Dutch Italianate Harbor Scene, 1640-1680*

(Ann Arbor, Michigan: U.M.I. Research Press, 1982), pp. 58-59.

45. Lorenz Eitner, *Géricault's Raft of the Medusa* (London: Phaidon Press, 1972), p. 10.

46. ibid.

47. Walter Friedlaender, *David to Delacroix* (1952; rpt., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 99.

48. *The Journal of Eugène Delacroix*, Hubert Wellington, ed. (1951; rpt., Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 358.

49. Before settling on this episode, Géricault had considered and made drawings of four other scenes from Savigny's and Corréard's acount. These included mutiny on the raft, cannibalism, hailing the rowboat which had come for the survivors, and the rescue itself; Géricault also did a drawing of the empty raft after the survivors had gone (Eitner, *Géricault's Raft of the Medusa*, p. 23).

50. Lorenz Eitner, "The Open Window and the Storm-tossed Boat: an Essay in the Iconography of Romanticism", *Art Bulletin*, vol. 37, Dec. 1955, p. 288.

51. Byron, George Gordon, *Don Juan* (T.G. Steffan, E. Steffan and W.W. Pratt, eds., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), canto 2, stanza XCVIII, p. 126.

52. Out of about 175 lines devoted to the subject of the Deluge, Milton describes scenes of destruction in only twelve (Roland Mushat Frye, *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts: Iconographic Tradition in the Epic Poems* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978, p. 307.); the fact that artists chose to illustrate these particular verses, further indicates their fascination with this aspect of the subject.

53. It is interesting to note that Burke in his *Enquiry* cites Milton as the most sublime of the English poets (Marcia R. Pointon, *Milton and English Art*, p. 92).

54. George Levitine, "Le Déluge Oublié de Michel-Honoré Bounieu", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VI periode, vol. CIII, Jan. 1984, pp. 44-50.

55. Levitine, "Le Déluge ...", p. 47.

56. As quoted by Levitine in "Le Déluge ...", p. 47.

57. In February of 1783 the earthquake of Calabria occurred;

it is very possible that this played a role in Bounieu's choice of cataclysmic subject matter. See Levitine's article "Le Déluge ..." for a discussion of this and other factors which may have inspired Bounieu in his painting.

58. Among those who used the subject of the Deluge in their work were Girodet-Trioson, Géricault, Fuseli, Romney, John Martin and Turner, as well as lesser known artists such as Jacques Gamelin, Jean-Baptiste Regnault and Henri-Pierre Danloux.

59. Lorenz Eitner, *Géricault: His Life and Work* (London: Orbis Publishing, 1983), p. 96.

60. This is the date assigned to the work by V. Chan in *Leader of my Angels: William Hayley and His Circle* (The Edmonton Art Gallery, 1982), p. 61.

61. Chan, p. 61.

62. William Hayley, *The Life of George Romney, Esq.* (London: T. Payne, 1809), p. 84.

63. K. Thurnberg, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope and Some Parts of the Interior of South Africa* (London, 1804-1814), vol. XVI, p. 61. There is a discrepancy here between the time that Romney executed his work, and the publication date of Thurnberg's account. It is likely that Romney heard the account verbally or from other sources before it was published by Thurnberg. According to Hayley, "the subject was recommended to the painter by the Rev'd James Clarke, the biographer of Lord Nelson" (Hayley, p. 84).

64. Hayley, p. 84.

65. This concern is particularly clear when one considers the artist's interest in the philanthropist and well-known prison reformer, John Howard.

66. Due to the thematic overlapping of the two subjects of the Deluge and the shipwreck it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the two. For example, a painting done by Goya in 1793-1794 has been identified as either "The Shipwreck" or "The Flood" in Gassier and Wilson's catalogue raisonné (Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson, *Goya: His Life and Work*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 169.

67. Eitner, "The Open Window ...", p. 287.

68. Both Christian Semler and an anonymous writer for the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stande* interpreted the

painting in this way (William Vaughan, et. al., *Caspar David Friedrich, 1774-1840: Romantic Landscape Painting from Dresden*, London: The Tate Gallery, 1972, p. 61, and notes 1 and 2 on p. 66).

69. Vaughan, *Caspar David Friedrich* ..., p.61. This work was the companion piece to *Seashore with Fisherman*, a work which is an allegory of life. As Vaughan points out, details in this painting such as a rack for drying hay, and a stream running into the ocean may be symbols of transience. It is significant that the shore, which may be considered to represent life, is a very small strip.

70. This work, of which there are three known versions, may have commemorated the death of Emma Körner (Vaughan, *Caspar David Friedrich* ..., p. 69).

71. Vaughan, *Caspar David Friedrich* ..., p. 69.

72. This is the interpretation given to the work by Borsch-Supan (Vaughan, *Caspar David Friedrich* ..., p. 69).

73. Vaughan, *Caspar David Friedrich* ..., p. 69.

74. Lorenz Eitner, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism 1750-1850: Sources and Documents* (Englwood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970), vol. II, p. 40. The writings of Kant, Fichte, and Jacob Boehme influenced the nature-philosophy of Schelling (Eitner, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism* ..., vol. II, p. 42).

75. Eitner, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism* ..., vol II, p. 52. It is interesting to note the similarities in this respect between Blake and Friedrich. Both saw "visions" of what they would paint before they began working, and both of them also had images which they used in their art revealed to them in their dreams (see Vaughan, *Caspar David Friedrich* ..., p. 14). An important dissimilarity should also be noted, however: while Blake developed a complicated personal mythology, Friedrich's symbolism was not as obscure; as has been noted, many contemporary viewers were able to identify and to interpret the intended symbolic content in Friedrich's work (Vaughan, *Caspar David Friedrich* ..., p. 16).

76. As quoted by Eitner, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism* ..., vol. II, p. 55.

77. As cited by Vaughan (Vaughan, *Caspar David Friedrich* ..., p. 16).

78. ibid., p. 18. Calvin, for example, conceived of nature as the most important evidence of God's goodness (see

Hugh Honour's *Romanticism*, p. 72).

79. Vaughan, *Caspar David Friedrich* ..., p. 15.

80. While there was a tradition in art of employing the ship or voyage by sea as a metaphor of sexual love, as is mentioned in note 41, Friedrich here is referring to the spiritual bonds between him and his wife.

81. The allegorical painting *Das Schiff des Lebens* (1815), by Eberhard Wächter is another example of this tradition continuing in the nineteenth century. For an illustration and discussion of this, see M. Schneider, "'Navigatio Vitae' und 'Lebensstufen': Symbolische Bilder des 19. Jahrhunderts", *Kunst und das Schöne*, vol. 93, part 1, Jan. 1981, p. 26.

82. The exact date of this work is unknown. Rosenblum classifies it as "after 1818" (Robert Rosenblum, *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to Rothko*, New York: Harper & Row, 1975, p. 33).

83. Rosenblum points out a thematic similarity of "the inevitable passage of life to death" in this work and Turner's *Fighting Téméraire* of 1838 (R. Rosenblum, "Caspar David Friedrich: a reappraisal", *Studio International*, CLXXXIV, 1972, p. 74).

84. Similar in concept to this work is *Moonrise on the Sea*, done in 1822. In this painting a group of three figures are seated on a rock, watching two ships at sea. For an interpretation of the religious symbolism see the exhibition catalogue *German Masters of the Nineteenth Century: Paintings and Drawings from the Federal Republic of Germany* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: H.N. Abrams, 1981, no. 33).

85. Rosenblum, "Caspar David Friedrich: a reappraisal", p. 74. For a discussion of the formal differences between Friedrich and contemporary landscape artists in England and France, see also Rosenblum's article "Caspar David Friedrich: a reappraisal", p. 74.

86. Friedrich did an earlier painting of a polar shipwreck entitled *Arctic Scene* (1798); this work, compositionally as well as ideologically, has much in common with Friedrich's *The Polar Sea*. For a reproduction of the earlier work, see Robert Rosenblum's *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition* p. 34.

87. Rosenblum, *Modern Painting* ..., p. 34. This work has also been called *The Wreck of the Hope* and *The Sea of Ice* (*German Masters of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 112).

88. This is the interpretation of this work which Eitner discusses in "The Open Window ..." (p. 289), and it is one with which Rosenblum agrees (Rosenblum, *Modern Painting* ..., p. 34). This is also the interpretation to which the present writer subscribes. It should be pointed out, however, that there is another understanding of the work, which interprets it in an historical-political light; this interpretation views the barren winter landscape as being parallel to the state of German politics, and the ship itself as representing the coffin of liberty (*German Masters of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 112).

89. *German Masters of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 112.

90. Eitner, "The Open Window ...", p. 289, and Rosenblum, *Modern Painting* ..., pp. 33-34.

91. Russell Noyes, p. 123.

92. From William Cowper's "The Castaway" (Russell Noyes, pp. 131,132).

93. ibid.

Chapter Three

1. It is clear that much of the marine imagery which has been examined in the preceding chapter could be considered as falling within the broader category of pilgrimage. The term "pilgrimage", here, however, will exclude images of travel by sea and be applied only to travel by land.

2. We are once again (as in the case of the ship at sea) confronted by what Carl Jung defined as an "archetypal image". For a discussion of this see the first chapter in Jung's *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), pp. 3-41.

3. Walter Jong, "Evolution, Myth and Poetic Vision" in *New Theology*, No. 5, Marty, Martin E. and Dean G. Peerman, eds. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), pp. 244-245.

4. Samuel Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1962) p. xxiii.

5. The visual imagery which illustrated this theme seems to have been particularly popular in the seventeenth century judging by the frequency with which it appears in art. The theme is also found, it should be noted,

although seemingly not with quite the same frequency, in the art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

6. The choice between the two paths was based on Christ's words in Matthew 7:13-14. The theme was developed in early Christian times in the *Didache* and the Apocryphal Epistle of *Barnabas*, before entering mediaeval literature, when it became a frequently used motif (Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life*, p. 176).

7. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life*, p. 176. For a discussion of this myth, and its appearance in art, see Erwin Panofsky's *Hercules am Scheidewege* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1930).

8. For a discussion of the Pauline armour, see Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life*, pp. 140-143.

9. By 1792 there were 160 editions of *Pilgrim's Progress*. For a discussion of this see F.M. Harrison's article "Editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress*", *The Library*, 45, XXII, 1942, pp. 73-81.

10. For discussions of the early illustrations done for *Pilgrim's Progress* see John Brown, *John Bunyan (1628-1688): His Life, Times and Works* (London: Hulbert Publishing Co., 1928), Chap. XIX, "Editions, Illustrations, and Imitations of *The Pilgrim's Progress*", pp. 438-486.

11. G.E. Bentley Jr., "Flaxman's Drawings for Pilgrim's Progress", *Woman in the Eighteenth Century and Other Essays*, Paul Fritz and Richard Morton, eds. (Toronto and Sarasota: Samuel Stevens Hakkert & Co., 1976), p. 248.

12. ibid.

13. ibid.

14. For a complete discussion of the dating of these designs see Bentley's "Flaxman's Drawings ...", pp. 251-253.

15. G.E. Bentley Jr., "Flaxman's Drawings ...", p. 253.

16. Flaxman's beliefs, were strongly influenced by the philosophy of Emanuel Swedenborg; see Harriet Whittemore Fowler's Ph.D. thesis *John Flaxman's "Knight of the Blazing Cross"*, Cornell University, 1981.

17. G.E. Bentley Jr., "Flaxman's Drawings ...", p. 256.

18. For a discussion of this see Carol Duncan's "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art", *Art Bulletin*, December 1973, p. 577.

19. Bindman, p. 43. It should also be noted here that the knight appearing in late eighteenth-century art is also sometimes linked, either directly or indirectly, to two further literary sources. These are Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. See Jean Seznec, *Fragonard Drawings for Ariosto* (New York, 1945), and Laurel Bradely, "Eighteenth-Century Paintings and Illustrations of Spenser's Faerie Queene: A Study in Taste", *Marsyas*, vol. XX, 1979-1980, pp. 31-51.

20. The work, which was never published during Flaxman's life, is twenty-three pages in length and includes forty drawings. It is presently in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

21. As cited by Harriet Whittemore Fowler, p. 2.

22. It is likely that Flaxman continued with his illustrations to *Pilgrim's Progress* for a number of years after he returned from Rome, but the dating of these drawings is not entirely clear. See note 14.

23. An interesting difference between Flaxman's Knight and the knights found in traditional Christian allegory, as Fowler points out, is the fact that Flaxman's protagonist has the power of the elements at his disposal (Fowler, p. 7).

24. It should be noted that Flaxman executed a series of undated drawings for Swedenborg's *Arcana Coelestia*.

25. David Bindman, ed., *John Flaxman* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), p. 120.

26. ibid.

27. Fowler, p. 37.

28. Fowler, p. 83.

29. Fowler, p. 82.

30. As cited by Fowler, p. 96.

31. Flaxman's drawings of charity may be considered in relation to Romney's drawings of the humanitarian and prison reformer John Howard. Flaxman and Romney had known each other since 1775, and it is possible that Romney's Howard drawings owe something to Flaxman's Dante album (Victor Chan, *Leader of My Angels: William Hayley and His Circle*, p. 66).

32. During the eighteenth century there was a general movement towards humanism. For a discussion of this see Lewis White Beck, *Eighteenth-Century Philosophy* (New

York: The Free Press, 1966), p.6.

33. Anthony Blunt, *The Art of William Blake*, p. 39.

34. Keynes describes this work of Blake's as "a very beautiful design, a 'woodcut on pewter', known as *Sweeping the Interpreter's House*". He goes on to say that contrary to the fact that the work was usually assigned the date of 1817, he is convinced that the work was first printed in 1794. For this argument see Keynes, *Blake Studies*, p. 165.

35. For a discussion of this see Anthony Blunt, *The Art of William Blake*, pp. 76-78, and for a discussion of Stothard's influence on Blake, see Anthony Blunt, *The Art of William Blake*, p. 39.

36. William Blake, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 21, in *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, David Erdman, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 536.

37. See L. Eitner, "Cages, Prisons and Captives in Eighteenth-Century Art", *Images of Romanticism*, pp. 13-38.

38. For a brief overview of the scholarship dealing with interpretations of *Jerusalem*, see Minna Doskow's *William Blake's Jerusalem* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982), pp. 13,14.

39. Northrop Frye, chapter 11 "The City of God", in *Fearful Symmetry: a Study of William Blake* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), pp. 356-403.

40. M. Doskow, p. 23, note 3.

41. M. Doskow, p. 15.

42. For a good overall discussion of the plot, and the work in general, refer to M. Doskow's *William Blake's Jerusalem*.

43. M. Doskow, p. 26.

44. Other works of Blake's which contain images of a figure entering a doorway or entrance include *Death's Door* from *America* (1791), *Death's Door* from *The Gates of Paradise* (1793), *Death's Door* from *The Grave* (1808), *The Descent of Man into the Vale of Death*, from *The Grave*, and *The Soul Exploring the Recesses of the Grave*, from *The Grave*.

45. The comparison between *The Soul Reunited with God* and

The Prodigal Son by Martin de Vos has been observed by Anthony Blunt in *The Art of William Blake*, p. 81.

46. William Blake, *Jerusalem: the Emanation of the Giant Albion* (1804, rpt., Paris: Trianon Press, 1974).

47. This in turn, was related to the new science of psychology, which was just beginning to develop at this time.

48. M. Doskow, p. 22.

49. For a discussion which places Albion in the context of the symbolic Romantic giant, here representing rebellion against tyrranical authority, see V. Chan, "Rebellion, Retribution, Resistance and Redemption: Genesis and Metamorphosis of a Romantic Giant Enigma", *Arts Magazine*, vol. 58, no. 10, June 1984, pp. 83,84.

50. Among the German writers to use the image of the wandering hero in a symbolic way, were Goethe, Wieland, Heinrich Jung-Stilling, and Karl Philipp Moritz. The theme of the wandering hero and the passionate yearning for travel expresses a number of concepts which concerned the Romantic writers. The figure of the wanderer in German Romantic literature as a whole is sometimes a positive image and sometimes a negative one. For a discussion of this, see Theodore Gish's "*Wanderlust* and *Wanderleid*: The Motif of the Wandering Hero in German Romanticism", *Studies in Romanticism*, vol. 3, 1963-1964, pp. 227-239.

51. See Lorenz Eitner's "The Open Window ...", and also Jan Bialostocki's "Die Rahmenthemen und die archetypischen Bilder", in *Stil und Ikonographie: Studien zur Kunstwissenschaft* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1965), pp. 111-125.

52. Artists who made use of the motif, and who were not working in Germany or Scandinavia, include the Swiss artist who resided most of his life in England, Henry Fuseli, and the French artists M. Drölling the elder, and Louise Adeone Drölling-Joubert.

53. Artists in these areas who used this motif included Friedrich Kersting, A. Menzel and J.C. Clausen Dahl.

54. This has been pointed out by Lorenz Eitner in "The Open Window ...", p. 286. It should also be mentioned that while Friedrich employed the open window motif a number of times in his art (two further examples include *View through a Window* of 1806, and a self portrait of 1839), another related image which recurs in his work is that of a gate or doorway. It is significant that this

entranceway, on a number of occasions, leads to a cemetary. This echoes the doorway leading to death which has already been noted in Blake's personal iconography.

55. Jens Christian Jensen, *Caspar David Friedrich: Life and Work* (1974, rpt., New York: Barron's Education Series, 1981), p. 144.

56. These figures may have been painted by Friedrich's friend Georg Friedrich Kersting (J.C. Jensen, p. 173). This would, however, have been with Friedrich's knowledge and consent.

57. L. Eitner, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism*, vol. II, p. 48.

58. ibid.

59. Writing in 1810, Friedrich's friend Heinrich von Kleist, in a review of the painting, recognized the importance of the work, stating that "the painter has doubtless blazed a completely new trail in the field of his art" (J.C. Jensen, p. 96). For a discussion of this work see R. Rosenblum's first chapter in *Modern Painting ...*, "Friedrich and the Divinity of Landscape", pp. 10-40.

60. Robert Rosenblum, *Modern Painting ...*, p. 10.

61. J.C. Jensen, pp. 97,98.

Conclusion

1. As cited by Landow, "Shipwrecked and Castaway...", p. 574.

2. Eitner, "The Open Window...", p. 288.

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